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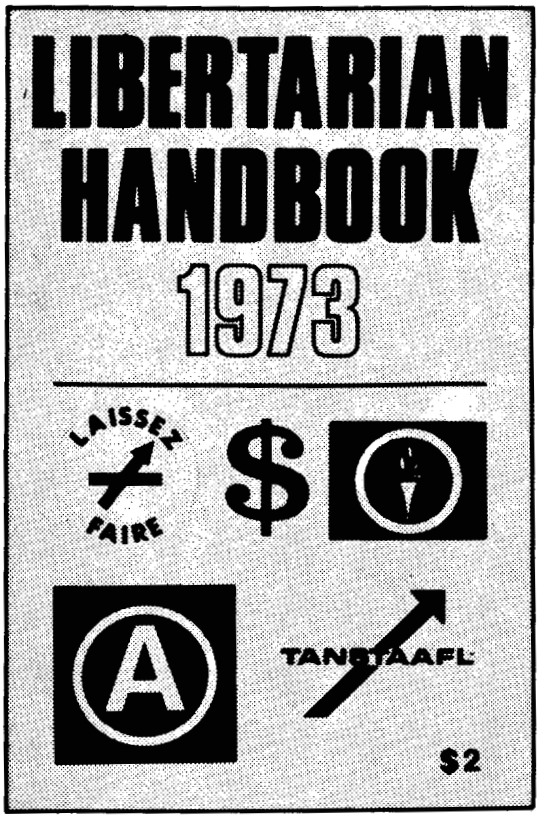

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CONTENTS

4
THE NEW EDUCATION / *Charles R. Kelley*

14
THE COLLEGE AS EXPERIENCE / *Joseph Collignon*

16
THE ETHICS OF POLYGAMY / *Paul L. Gross*

21
LET'S ESTABLISH A NEW GOLD STANDARD / *J. M. Cobb*

24
SCIENCE FICTION IN PERSPECTIVE / *John J. Pierce*

26
FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT: Belgium / *Guy de Maertelaere*

27
LIBERTARIAN PARTY CORRESPONDENT / *Edward H. Crane, III*

28
MOVIES: The Day of the Jackal; Soylent Green; Ten From Your Show of Shows / *Charles Barr*

29
BOOK REVIEW: How To Start Your Own School / *George Pearson*

30
TRENDS

32
EDITORIAL: The Problem of Utopianism / *Tibor R. Machan*

34
PUBLISHER'S NOTES

36
REASON PROFILE: Henry J. Hohenstein

38
LETTERS

40
RUDEBARBS / *Randall K. Hylkema*

42
CLASSIFIEDS

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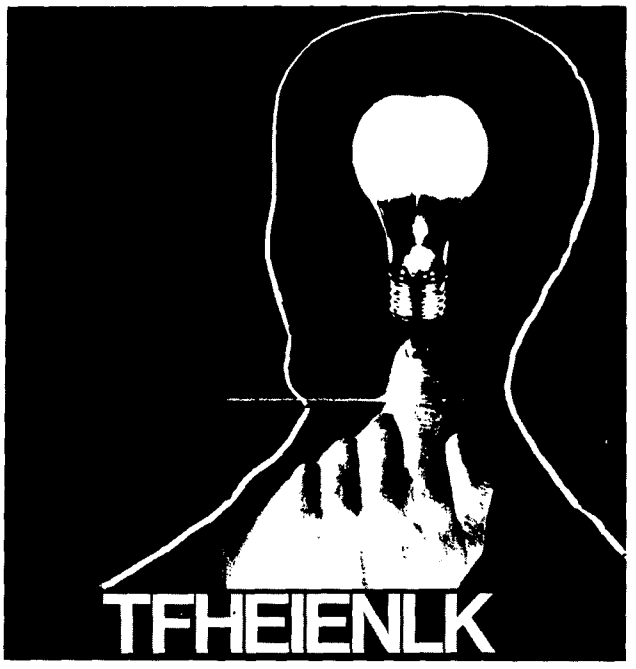
The New Education

Charles R Kelley



They call it the "human potential movement" or the "new education." It includes—but isn't limited to—"encounter groups," "sensitivity training," "sensory awakening," and a variety of body techniques. The New Education is taught in "growth centers" and institutes" around the world, and in businesses, churches and people's living rooms. It is even sometimes taught in colleges and universities, but it is unlike any traditional college class. Some think it's a fad that will soon be forgotten; others, including this writer, believe it to be the beginning of an educational revolution that will change our lives. It has grown up working with adults, but has equally important potential for children.

The New Education differs from traditional education in its concern with the body and body movement, the emphasis it places on feeling and emotion, and in its effort to teach and foster close human relationships through group processes. One segment of the movement emphasizes learning to live in the "here and now," another stresses learning individual responsibility, initiative and purpose. Both agree on the importance of learning and practising honesty and integrity, both in groups and out.

The biggest spur to the growth of the New Education is the massive deterioration of the old. Academic education has become increasingly bureaucratic, tradition-bound, and irrelevant to the content of the lives of most of the people being "educated." It has become a huge establishment, much like the established church of the middle ages. It is dominated by the task of assigning status (= privilege), classifying and sorting us all with degrees, grades, tests, diplomas and certificates that do much to determine our positions in society. And it has become corrupted with various forms of compulsion that make its services mandatory, not only for children but for college-age adults, if they are to get a desirable job. Also—and this point is crucial in the present context—it is greatly overconcerned with the head, the intellect, to the neglect of the whole balance of the person—his body, his emotions, his character structure, his human relations, his habits and style of life.

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New Education offerings can be divided, somewhat arbitrarily and with much overlapping, into these five categories:

1. Education in feeling
2. Education in purpose
3. Body learning
4. Education in perception
5. Learning encounter.

Each of these will be briefly reviewed, with an emphasis on groups in which the author has had personal experience.

EDUCATION IN FEELING

One of the biggest categories of the New Education can be described as "education in feeling." It is concerned with freeing and opening up the student's emotions, helping him become more able to express feelings of his own and to be sensitive to the feelings

of others. All emotions, negative and positive alike, are to be released and expressed, though not always acted on, of course. Some leaders specialize in teaching one type or aspect of feeling. For example, some leaders specialize in teaching couples and family groups to fight—to express their anger and aggression openly—to their intimates. Some workshops and classes are called training in "how to fight fair" [Bach and Wyden, 1970]. Most encounter groups encourage free expression of angry or hostile feelings, though many forbid violence or threat of violence—some much more strictly than others.

My experience is that any group in which there is real freedom in expressing angry feelings requires an absolute, strictly enforced ban on violence or threat of violence. Groups without such a ban are subject to the intimidation of members with "short fuse" physically aggressive character structures. Such groups tend (usually unconsciously) to avoid the deepest levels of anger-provoking material. Groups with strict anti-violence rules, such as those of Synanon, reach much deeper levels of anger, and are, in consequence, more effective.

Other groups do not stress the release of negative emotions, but endeavor to foster intimacy, joy, and love. Those with wide experience in New Education groups know that deep and moving contacts with other people sometimes do develop in surprisingly brief periods in the emotionally fluid environment of a good encounter group. Nor are these contacts necessarily superficial; they can be as serious and real and lasting as any contacts we make in our lives.

Yet there is a problem of fake superficial intimacy in many groups, of indiscriminate "caring," often expressed in physical touching or hugging without reciprocal emotional intimacy. The dilemma of the group leader is how to get group members who are fearful and contact-shy to reach out to those that they are drawn towards, without indulging those who cover their feelings by superficial contactless fondling or embracing. In the good group, the search must be for authentic feelings and genuine contact.

Varieties of meditation study can be thought of as "education in feeling," though their objectives are different and in many ways opposite to those of encounter and emotional release. The most widely practised forms of meditation derive from Eastern religions, and stress control rather than release and expression of the emotions. There is often, but not always, an association of meditation with mystical religious belief, e.g., a striving towards a "higher consciousness." Meditation is of real value to the over-active frenetic westerner, a way to help him slow down and bring his life into better perspective. It is a disvalue to mystically inclined or passive individuals, for it can encourage and rationalize the tendency to withdraw from life, to avoid vigorous activity and strong emotion. Meditation ought to help one pause and find his center in order to better prepare him for an active productive life, but it should never become a substitute for that life. Meditation as an end in itself is a cop-out, an evasion of the problems of life.

A rapidly growing form of New Education which emphasizes "education in feeling" is the *"co-counseling"* or *"reevaluation reeducation" of Harvey Jackins.* New students in co-counseling classes learn techniques to facilitate the discharge of feeling with each other. These they practise in pairs, reporting on difficulties in their class. Laughing, trembling, sweating, crying are common forms of discharge that occur. "Validation" of oneself and others (positive statements) to develop good self-feeling is another important feature of reevaluation counseling groups. Reevaluation groups develop strong mutual feelings among members, and there is a tendency for those involved in reevaluation counseling to form a mutually supportive "community" involved in a variety of educational, social, and work projects.

Probably the most important single influence in "education in feeling" is a man who never worked in groups, and who died in the early beginnings of the New Education movement. *Wilhelm Reich* was the psychologist who, more than any one man, put the body into the center of psychology. A psychoanalyst and student of Freud, Reich broke away from Freud and the analysts in the 30's to go his own way, focussing on body tensions as the key to emotional blocks. Reich's central idea was that emotions are an expression of movement of body energy or life force, and that chronic muscle tensions dam this flow of energy and so block the emotion. Reich called these chronic muscle tensions "muscular armor," and showed how, by relaxing the armor, the emotion held in is released, or, more accurately, the flow of the life force which is responsible for the emotion is released.

The extent of Reich's influence on the New Education can hardly be overestimated. For example, three of the most popular forms of New Education are the *Bioenergetics of Alexander Lowen* and his colleagues, the *"Gestalt therapy" of the late Fritz Perls* and his associates, and the *"Primal therapy" of Arthur Janov.* Bioenergetics and Gestalt therapy were largely shaped by Reich's analysees and students, and I have shown elsewhere that Primal therapy derives its power from the use of Reichian body techniques [Kelley, 1971].

Reich is also the most important single influence shaping the *"Interscience Intensive,"* the form of group feeling work developed by this author. The "Interscience Intensive" employs emotional release techniques derived from Reich in a small-group setting. Powerful involuntary discharges of fear, rage,

and grief or pain typically occur. Repeated Intensives can change a person profoundly. The release of blocked negative emotion opens the capacity for the positive. Thus the release of rage opens the capacity for love, and the release of pain opens up the capacity for pleasure. Appearance may change dramatically, primarily as a result of changed emotional expression.

EDUCATION IN PURPOSE

As significant as "education in feeling" in the New Education picture is "education is purpose." This category of New Education is primarily verbal. It uses the power of the group process to help members understand themselves, clarify their values and objectives, and learn to live in accordance with them. The sharp contrast between education in feeling and in purpose is shown by their goals [Kelley, 1970]:

Education in Feeling	Education in Purpose
Free blocks to feeling	Establish and sustain one's own direction in life.
Gain increased spontaneity	Gain better self control
Learn better to: • give and accept love • work through anger and fear • laugh and cry	Learn better to: • clarify one's values and principles • choose one's own objectives • pursue one's objectives effectively
Feel more deeply	Achieve more meaning
Develop more capacity for tenderness	Develop more capacity for toughness
Open up emotionally	Focus energy rationally
Attain greater emotional freedom	Attain greater intellectual clarity
Become better able to love	Become better able to realize one's potential

These goals are in many respects antithetical, and the proponents of education in feeling and education in purpose are often at odds. "Feeling" advocates tend to regard work in purpose as intellectual head-tripping, isolated from what is most significant to them, which is deep emotional experience. Advocates of work in purpose often consider work in feeling to be spur-of-the-moment and short-range, with no capacity to produce long range change.

Inspection of the contrasting sets of goals above should make it clear that the complete human being cannot neglect either area of development. Man must learn to live purposively *and* with feeling. The rational, over-responsible, future-oriented, modern, civilized man has too often lost his capacity for spontaneity and joy in the here-and-now; he needs education in feeling. By contrast, the drifting hippy, living always by his here-and-now feelings, has failed to learn the discipline required to get his life on track and going somewhere worth getting to. He needs education in purpose.

Major among the groups which practise education in purpose is Synanon, the self-help center for ex-drug addicts. Credit for its success with addicts is given by Synanon to their New Education technique, the *Synanon "game."* Some years ago I joined Synanon to experience their "game" first hand. (Many non-addict members of the community have done the same.) We met in groups of 12 to 24 once or twice a week to lay bare our problems and what we were doing—or resolving to do—about them. The Synanon game is tough and aggressive, and often loud, angry and attacking, although violence or threat of violence is forbidden under the sharpest penalties. In my months at Synanon, I observed dramatic changes in attitudes and behavior as a direct result of what occurred in the game. I came to understand how it was that addicts, alcoholics, criminals, and prostitutes could change themselves into effective moral human beings as a result of the learning of purpose. Good articles on Synanon are those of Enright (1970).

A type of education in purpose similar in many ways to the Synanon game is that of the *"Integrity Groups"* operated by psychologist O. H. Mowrer and his wife Molly. I found the Integrity group I was permitted to join to be much gentler and more analytic than my Synanon "tribe," but with the same emphasis on honesty, responsibility, and commitment or involvement with the group. But I missed the angry direct confrontations that occur in the Synanon game.

The *"Reality Therapy"* of Dr. William Glasser is another significant form of education in purpose [Glasser, 1965]. Glasser deals with problems of criminality, delinquency, and drug addiction as forms of irresponsibility, and employs group techniques to teach members to accept full responsibility for their own behavior. Frank Goble, champion of the third force psychology of Abraham Maslow, places equal emphasis on responsibility. He refers to the form of education in purpose he espouses as "character education" [Goble, 1970].

The *"Biocentric" psychology* of Nathaniel Branden also belongs in the category of "education in purpose." Branden is a former student and colleague of Ayn Rand, and is much influenced by the

"The most important feature running through virtually all the diverse forms of the New Education is its concern with the body. There are dozens of approaches to body structure, realignment, expression and movement."

philosophy of Objectivism, with its emphasis on individuality and intellectual values. Self-awareness, self-acceptance, self-responsibility, and self-esteem are cornerstones of Branden's view. He adapts techniques from many sources with innovations of his own, in group work that is highly dependent on Branden's ability to come up with appropriate exercises for group members on the spur of the moment [Branden, 1971].

The *Interscience Work Shop* teaches purpose using a confrontation-type encounter, plus a paired "co-confidant" technique. Neo-Reichian techniques are combined with verbal conceptual work in the co-confidant pairs to trigger powerful levels of emotional discharge that have a conceptual orientation, being directed towards particular problems or people in the student's life. The confrontation group is a tough honest encounter, with a great emphasis on habits and life style as the chief determinant of direction in life [Kelley, 1970].

The single thread running through every form of education in purpose is the conviction that each person is responsible for his own behavior and his own life. Much of psychology and philosophy is a denial of the existence of choice, and so of responsibility. It is fashionable to view man as an essentially helpless pawn of instincts and/or environment. "No," say the educators in purpose, "choice is real, and learning to accept the responsibility for one's choices is central to learning how to live."

BODY LEARNING

Radical changes cannot be expected without reforming muscular and postural habits. Indigestion, faulty breathing, crooked toes and feet, faulty sexual behavior, postural rigidity and muscular tension go together with emotional disorders. The whole self, diet, breathing, sex, muscular and postural habits, must be tackled directly and concurrently with the emotional reeducation.

The whole problem is a social one and reeducation has much better prospects of success if conducted in groups . . . .

—Moshe Feldenkrais

So wrote Feldenkrais (1949) in a prophetic and insightful statement. As was noted, the most important feature running through virtually all the diverse forms of the New Education is its concern with the body. There are dozens of approaches to body structure, realignment, expression and movement. Among the best known are body movement and expression workshops originated by pioneers such as Mary Whitehouse, Charlotte Selver, and Trudi Shupe, and the attention to body postural dynamics exemplified by the students of F. M. Alexander and by Moshe Feldenkrais, whose quotation appears above. Ida Rolf has originated a direct approach to body realignment which involves a forceful (and painful) stretching of muscle fascia and tendons, with a resulting reshaping of the body. She calls her technique *"structural integration,"* but it is verbally referred to as *"Rolfing."* Ida Rolf's followers now number in the hundreds.

The New Education has "discovered" that the orientals have for centuries cultivated several forms of "body learning" to a high level of development. One of the best known is *Yoga,* which exists in several forms, generally (but not always) in association with Hindu religious beliefs. *T'ai Chi,* a disciplined, slow, graceful dance-like movement, is less known than Yoga, but has developed a large following among New Education students. And in this context one should not forget *Karate, Judo,* and *Aikido,* which are rightfully popular forms of body learning as well as techniques of self defense.

The New Education emphasis on the body has brought a flowering of techniques of *massage* in many forms. It has been said that if everyone were to give and receive a one-half hour massage each day, the troubles of the world would be over. An overstatement, surely, but it would be a great help. A centuries old and highly respected art in countries such as Sweden and Japan, Americans have heretofor been too shy of body contact to accord massage the status it deserves. Now massage is accepted widely within the New Education movement, and a variety of massage techniques are practised. An excellent recent book on massage is that of Downing (1972).

I have found that body learning disciplines can help, hinder, or be irrelevant to progress in "education in feeling." Massage is of real value in freeing the feelings. Body movement and dance techniques are of clear positive value also. The Alexander Technique couples especially well with neo-Reichian body techniques, and Feldenkrais work should do the same. Rolfing has been generally helpful, but not to the same degree as the Alexander technique. The emotional release effects of Rolfing have been overstated. No passive technique, where the body is, in effect, turned over to a practitioner to be changed,

can hope to be as effective as the best active techniques, which depend on stimulating a process of development within the student. Rolfing is a passive process.

Yoga is a form of body learning with both positive and negative effects on education in feeling. Many of the breathing and body techniques of Yoga are closely related to Reich's body techniques, as is the emphasis on autonomic functioning. The direction of development in Yoga is precisely opposite to that in neo-Reichian work, however. In Yoga the objective is to extend conscious control over the emotions and other autonomic functions, while in neo-Reichian work the objective is to surrender such control. A small amount of training in Yoga can be helpful in centering the student and developing body awareness, but extensive Yoga training leads to habits that interfere with spontaneous emotional expression.

Freer and more open sexual attitudes typify the New Education in general, and body learning in particular. Consider attitudes toward massage and nude encounter groups. There is no escaping the problem of tawdry and commercial sexuality under the name of massage. Some massage parlors are essentially whorehouses, just as some encounter group operators peddle nudity as a commodity.

I am not opposed in principle to legalizing the sale of sexual services; in a free society sexual transactions between consenting adults, commercial or otherwise, are not regulated by the state. It is because commercial sex is illegal that it is sold by subterfuge in the name of other services, such as massage and encounter;—ask the professional masseuse, who must deal with male customers who have learned to equate being massaged with being masturbated.

Leering pornographic sex and most commercialized forms of sex are a product of sex repression. We have a long way to go to free ourselves from the effects of centuries of sex-negative living. There are plenty of sex hang-ups in the New Education movement, but there is also decided progress. One of the healthiest sexual atmospheres I have experienced is that of *Esalen Institute,* where nudity for all ages and sexes is accepted "dress" at swimming pool and baths, and sexual intercourse is a private affair. The Esalen residents I have met treat sex very naturally.

Just as he has split sex and love, modern man has split mind from body, and in the New Education there are important efforts in progress to put mind and body together again. This is not a simple task. The goals of body techniques such as T'ai Chi or Rolfing are not related in any obvious way to such objectives of education in purpose as developing responsibility and honesty, for example. The bridge between mind and body lies in education in feeling, especially in neo-Reichian work where *bodily* tensions are shown to be the agent responsible for *emotional* blocks. Thus neo-Reichians place special emphasis on the body, and see a close kinship between a student's character and personality and his body [e.g. Lowen, 1958]. Neo-Reichian techniques are in large part physiological, yet the objectives of their use are psychological.

Discussion of body learning should include such long range activities as weight control, exercise programs, addictions (smoking, drinking, drugs) and establishing habits and styles of life that are healthful. It is amazing how many students fail to get adequate exercise and rest, or to eat properly. Education in purpose combined with appropriate forms of body learning is often the appropriate approach.

EDUCATION IN PERCEPTION

Along with its emphasis on emotions and the body, the New Education focuses strongly on the senses. *"Sensory Awareness"* techniques such as developed by Bernard Gunther at Esalen form the principal subject of some classes and workshops, and a major component of others [Gunther, 1968]. The techniques of sensory awareness bring the student to attend fully to sights, sounds, smells, tastes and touches. Through the senses he becomes aware of the "here-and-now" of his existence, and sense experience can grow enormously in intensity and significance as the senses "awaken." (Some New Education workshops are called *"sensory awakening."*) The sensory channels themselves seem to develop from the practise; sounds and smells intensify, colors and shapes clarify and become more vivid.

Techniques of vision improvement that were originated half a century ago by the ophthalmologist William H. Bates have found their way into this aspect of the New Education, and with good reason. Bates was a major prophet of the New Education, and his techniques are effective. Workshops and classes in vision improvement featuring *Bates drills* have been offered at such New Education centers as Esalen, Kairos and Aureon Institutes, and at the Interscience Work Shop. The techniques of Bates fit beautifully with those of Reich, Lowen, Gunther, and Alexander, to name a few. At the same time, the techniques developed since Bates add an important new dimension to work with vision improvement, especially the techniques of tension release derived from Reich.

Common eye disorders such as myopia (near-sightedness) and hyperopia (far-sightedness) are treated as inherent and fixed mechanical conditions by traditional medicine and optometry, yet these conditions are not inherent and fixed; they are acquired and plastic. The eye is a living organ, responsive to use and (especially) to chronic emotional tension. I

"Along with its emphasis on emotions and the body, the New Education focuses strongly on the senses. Techniques of vision improvement have found their way into an aspect of the New Education, but no one has as yet tried to apply New Education techniques specifically to the improvement of hearing."

have elsewhere presented the thesis that myopia is produced by chronic eye tensions due to childhood fear, while hyperopia arises from the tension associated with blocked anger [Kelley, 1971]. Education in feeling combined with education in perception, i.e., the combination of neo-Reichian emotional release work with Bates eye drills, provides a new and highly promising approach to vision disorders.

Unfortunately, no one has as yet tried to apply New Education techniques specifically to the improvement of hearing, at least to my knowledge. This important area for exploration and development awaits its pioneer.

THE LEARNING ENCOUNTER

While many teachers of the New Education have incorporated the teaching of facts into their groups and workshops, the marriage of intellectual forms of learning with the New Education is still being developed and experimented with. Synanon has made an important beginning in this direction with its "cerebrations" and "reaches," which are extended learning encounters for groups of no special academic qualifications, and which explore together problem areas in philosophy, science, and engineering [Enright, 1970].

The true learning encounter is an entirely different approach to education than is found in schools and universities. School and university learning deadens the body and emotions while the intellect is stimulated. The physically and emotionally still bodies of students in traditional classrooms are very wrong in the New Education view of things. Says the Interscience Work Shop brochure in describing its learning encounters:

> A *learning encounter* is not the transmission of information from "authority" to student, but an encounter group exploration of a topic of interest and concern to each member. Each group member must play an active role. The main blocks to learning are not intellectual but emotional, e.g. unwillingness to speak out for fear of looking foolish, excessive respect for and reliance on authority, ideas held rigidly for emotional reasons. The learning encounter sorts out and works through the emotional hang-ups of group members that interfere with the learning process. Non-verbal interaction and body learning techniques are interspersed with verbal exploration over the days of the encounter.

The learning encounter attempts to marry the emphasis of the New Education on emotions and the body with intellectual forms of learning. The marriage is much to be desired, but is not really fully consummated as yet. The intellect has been the first line of defense against the emotions for too many, for too long. This is one reason that anti-intellectualism is so strong in many segments of the New Education.

Conceptual thought is one of the two uniquely human abilities underlying purpose. (The other is volition.) The problem of integrating conceptual with feeling activities is thus an aspect of the problem of reconciling purpose and feeling. That rarity, the good traditional teacher, retains his deep feeling for life, and imbues his intellectual activities with an emotional aliveness, with a sense of wonder toward nature, of challenge of the unknown, of joy in intellectual discovery. The good New Educator must learn to maintain his respect for the human mind and its achievements, and to work for its larger development. In the largest sense, emotion and conceptual thought are compatible and reciprocal in their development rather than opposed. As I have indicated in discussing the bringing together of feeling and purpose:

> Feeling and purpose can become reconciled, can be made to complement and extend rather than to negate each other. To do so requires that feeling be subordinated to purpose, so that the energy underlying feeling moves the individual towards his long-range goals. It requires, at the same time, that purpose operate in the service of feeling, in that it leads the individual to a life which in the long run is fulfilling to him . . .
>
> . . . Feeling will not be sacrificed to purpose, nor will purpose be abandoned in the face of strong feeling. Feeling, will, however, gradually come into the service of purpose, to provide the desire, the motivation for goals to be pursued, and the reward for their achievement. At the same time, purpose will serve feeling by establishing a direction in life that becomes, in the long run, emotionally satisfying.
>
> Gradually, a step at a time, the student will find himself growing into a new relation with himself and his own life, one in which feeling and purpose function together instead of in contradiction to each other [Kelley, 1970, pp. 23-24].

In the same spirit and for analagous reasons, the New Education will find conceptual and emotional de-

velopment becoming reconciled in forms of learning, like the *learning encounter,* that allow them to function together instead of in contradiction to each other.

A PERSPECTIVE ON THE NEW EDUCATION

Choosing a New Education group or program to go into is a haphazard process for most people, and many are turned off because their first choices were unfortunate. Even those with broad experience in the New Education may find that there are a bewildering array of programs available that they know little or nothing about, taught by leaders they have never heard of. Programs are frequently entered because they are convenient in place and time, priced attractively, or are promoted effectively. These are poor methods for making a sound choice, as the best programs may well be inconvenient, relatively expensive, and promoted badly or not at all. Good programs come to sell themselves. (The *Guide to New Education Programs,* presented in a booklet available from the Interscience Research Institute [Kelley, 1972], may aid the prospective student in finding the New Education program for him.)

Some New Education programs function on the premise that they offer the *exclusive* road to a super-state of mental health or consciousness. Nor is it only the weak and insecure programs or those that are frankly mystical, rooted in religious convictions, that do this. It is also (and most significantly) programs that open deep feelings, and so provoke intense loyalties and powerful mystical expectations. There is some degree of this mystical-chauvinistic attitude in many programs, and a high degree in a number of them. The worst offenders are those which hold out the hope that those coming to them will reach a transcendent state, beyond or above that of ordinary men, if their efforts, devotion, and checkbooks hold out long enough. Principle examples are: orthodox Reichian therapy (medical orgone therapy), with Reich's concept of the genital characters, special human beings stripped of their armor; Primal therapy, with its post-primal patients, devoid of defenses and neurosis; and Scientology, with its clears and super-clears ("operating Thetans"), freed of their engrams by Dianetic auditing [see Kelley, 1971]. To most of the leaders in these programs, for one of their clients to become involved in another program is a heresy, and is liable to result in excommunication if it is discovered.

Serious if less extreme chauvinism toward the in-group is also found in Synanon, in Bioenergetics, and in Reevaluation Counseling, to name some of the other programs of New Education that are affected. Unorthodox individuals in each of these programs take exception to this tendency within their group.

The unfortunate effect of this narrowness of attitude is an inability of those within to consider and make use of what is discovered outside of the group. Orthodox members of each of the groups I have just mentioned are unable to see their group as part of the larger whole which is the New Education. Instead, in each case, the in-group is believed to be the exclusive agency possessing special new knowledge and skills that will transform mankind. With this conviction often goes a demand for orthodoxy in belief and behavior, and (most objectionable of all) a surrender of autonomy to the practicioner, who may decide for his student questions not only of what other New Education programs, if any, he may enter, but also such personal decisions as marriage, separation, abortion, political economic decisions and beliefs, etc., based on the practitioner's interpretation of the collective values governing the program.

Of course, many students want a strong figure to take over responsibility for them. New Educators are often pressured by their students to assume a parental role in their lives. Few realize the degree of helplessness that prevails among people in deep emotional questions. Greatest respect is due the New Educator who requires each student to assume responsibility himself for decisions on which his life depends.

The student may find he has to fight to preserve his self-autonomy in a New Education program that is in major respects just what he needs. The New Education is not education to many, but instead religion, philosophy or therapy or some kind of mixture that requires a surrender of autonomy. The prospective student will do well to explore this aspect of a program carefully before he commits himself deeply to it.

Mystical and chauvinistic attitudes are widespread within New Education programs because they are based on mass psychological factors that are widespread in the population. It is the same deep self-doubt and longing to be taken care of on the part of the masses of people that brings about religious cults and government-fostered authoritarian professional establishments. At the same time, it is the best among the New Education programs that attack these mass psychological factors at their roots in individual character structures.

Education in purpose in particular, with its emphasis on self-acceptance, personal autonomy, and self-responsibility, is a force directly counter to self-doubt and the longing to be cared for. Education in feeling can also be such a force, since through it the student can come to feel good about himself, his feelings, and his body. It is only when the feelings released are channelled into excessive unthinking loyalty to a group program that mystical-chauvinistic attitudes, going beyond natural loyalties, develop.

"The New Education for children, as for adults, can only grow effectively outside the framework of tax supported government control over the schools."

As yet, the New Education is making its major headway in the education of adults. The educational establishment has a stranglehold on the education of children, sustained through the government coercion that underlies public school education. Yet this is also being challenged increasingly by those able to envision a new and different process of emotional and intellectual growth in our children than that fostered by government schools.

The *free school movement* is based on self-regulation by children as described by Wilhelm Reich and put into practise by Reich's student and friend, A. S. Neill [Neill, 1960]. Neill is the founder of Summerhill in England, the prototype "free school." Summerhill type free schools are much like adult "education in feeling" groups, stressing, as they do, emotional expression and development. Montessori schools, which have grown significantly in recent years, offer a much more structured program of development, emphasizing the stimulation of natural patterns of intellectual growth. They are thus more closely akin to "education in purpose" than to "education in feeling." The Synanon school (for the children of Synanon residents) employs a modified free school model, the exciting feature of which is the successful adaptation of the powerful Synanon group technique (the Synanon game) as a tool of children's education.

It is this latter kind of development that holds the hope and promise of the New Education for children. *We have not yet learned how to apply the powerful techniques of education in feeling and purpose, body learning, education in perception, and the learning encounter to the education of children.* The main obstacle is the dead hand of government control over the schools. The New Education for children, as for adults, can only grow effectively outside the framework of tax supported government control over the schools. Every development attempted within government schools, no matter how sincere, able and creative its originators, is doomed ultimately to be corrupted or destroyed by the evils of government control.

Summerhill schools are private schools; Montessori schools are private schools; Synanon's schools are private schools; the significant new schools yet to grow will be private schools. The future of the New Education lies entirely in the hands of educators willing to operate without tax support, outside of the educational establishment.

The dead hand of the establishment extends its baleful influence into adult forms of New Education, of course. Its effort is to bring the New Education under government control. It has a powerful ally in professionalism and in the medical model of New Education processes. The rationale is that New Education processes are not education but therapy; that those who come are in some way sick and come for treatment of their mental or emotional illness;—and, of course, that all such treatment should be under the control of government licensed or certified "mental health" professionals, the psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers, and state-licensed counselors.

I have stated elsewhere my criticism of the medical model as a model [Kelley, 1971]. It is a poor model. New Education students are not sick, should not be led to think they are coming for treatment or therapy of disease, nor to expect "cure" as the result of their work. Growth centers are not hospitals or clinics; they are instead truly centers for a new kind of education—the New Education.

The medical model has been created and given its power by pioneers of New Education techniques operating within the medical-professional framework, men such as Wilhelm Reich, M.D., Fritz Perls, M.D., Ph.D., and the grandfather of them all, Sigmund Freud, M.D. These men would probably not have become known had they not attained professional status, and it is natural that they lived and worked within the confines of the model upon which their profession was based. But the professional who wishes to identify with and truly advance the New Education in the future must first be willing to climb down from his professional pedestal, to be a human being with the rest, to throw away his government licenses, certificates, and special privilege, and to function solely on the basis of the knowledge, skill and leadership he can offer.

It is not an accident that so much of the vital creative force in the New Education today comes from outside the established professions. Chuck Dederich, founder of Synanon, has no letters behind his name, nor have the assorted ex-addicts that with him make Synanon the significant New Education center that it is. Operators of growth centers such as Esalen know how many of their finest group leaders have no professional degrees. Reevaluation Counseling, one of the exciting movements in the New Education scene, is successful, I believe, precisely because it makes such effective use of non-professional human-to-

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human communication. The followers of F. M. Alexander, Ida Rolf, W. H. Bates, Bernard Gunther, Mary Whitehouse, Moshe Feldenkrais, Charlotte Selver, Trudi Shupe, and scores of others do their work outside of the established professions, and it includes the finest work done in the New Education field. Too many in the New Education field are too aware to accept the point of view which divides mankind into two levels, into parent figures and child figures, the doctor and his patients, the professional and his charges. In the New Education we are all human beings, trying to learn together. Some of us have learned special knowledge or skills that we teach, but this does not elevate us into a different order of humanity.

I am much aware that although I hold a Ph.D. degree, the most valuable knowledge and skill I possess came, not from the graduate courses in psychology I completed or in years as a professor, but from sources entirely *outside* academia. It was derived from Wilhelm Reich and William H. Bates, from Ayn Rand, D. H. Lawrence, my Synanon tribe, and several other sources. It was obtained by that independent and individual process of conceptual growth that began before I was school age, and that has always received its most important nourishment from outside the walls of state-approved educational institutions.

Because it is not encumbered with the deadwood of governmentalization and professional claptrap, the New Education can eliminate the useless drudgery required to learn to teach or lead. It can forget the endless sequences of courses, exams, degrees, certificates, and licenses that are the professional's union cards and his means of limiting entry into his field. It can focus instead on the vital central content that is to be taught. Yet it must insist on competence, on developing high levels of knowledge and skill in trainees. In giving up professionalism, the New Education must accept the responsibility for discovering alternative means of developing excellence in its practitioners.

New Education teachers are trained by the hundreds at centers and groups within the movement, and the training is frequently haphazard. Yet the diversity of training is surely one of the strengths of the movement, the sources of originality and vitality are so many and varied. The prospective teacher must search out his mentor or mentors. Books provide a fund of information on what is available. Paperbacks abound dealing with New Education disciplines. Then the student is given a great opportunity to try techniques and leaders at workshops offered at growth centers around the world. The wise student will sample widely in searching out what is for him. If he then becomes interested in teaching some form of New Education he will have to find who has a training program and what their requirements are. Although there are many who restrict training to those with professional backgrounds, there are dozens of opportunities within the New Education for would-be teachers who don't want to go the professional degree route.

At the Interscience Work Shop we are learning how to teach New Education teachers. We are best known for our neo-Reichian "education in feeling" work, and for our work in vision improvement, so most prospective teachers wish to specialize in one of these areas, while our "purpose" work is beginning to attract interest. Our training program is thorough but it is new, and we are still exploring how to combine theory, discussion of technique, demonstration and practise [Interscience, 1971]. Clearly, the most important of these, and the one around which the others must be organized, is practise. New Education skills are learned by doing them.

Our teacher trainees are recruited from our students, and there are no formal educational requirements for admission to the training program. Our one concern is that a prospective teacher show the potential for doing the work well. Because New Education activities are governed by the free market, the rewards are great for the able, and those we have trained charge from fifteen to thirty dollars per hour or more for their services. There is none of the security and protection supplied by the professional's union, with its lobbies and laws and licenses, of course;—we are happy without it. Those of us in the New Education movement feel we are part of an incredibly vital, growing, significant field of work. More than that, we are taking part in a revolution—an educational revolution—that is placing the future in our hands. ◻

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Outside of academia, Kelley was a student of Wilhelm Reich's and contributed to Reich's journals during his life and to study of his theories in the years since Reich died.

THE PERSONALIST, an international journal of philosophy, now in its 54th year of publication, is edited by Professor John Hospers, director of the School of Philosophy of the University of Southern California. It contains articles in all areas of philosophy representing many different points of view.

In the past few years it has contained numerous articles and discussions by prominent libertarians such as Nathaniel Branden, Tibor Machan, Eric Mack, and John Hospers, together with other articles in opposition to the views of these writers.

The Winter 1973 issue contains a long and excellent article by Eric Mack entitled "Egoism and Rights," which should be of interest to all libertarians. The Spring 1971 and Summer 1972 issues were devoted entirely to the proceedings of the first and second political philosophy conferences sponsored by the Institute of Humane Studies of Menlo Park, California. The spring 1971 issue contains Branden's article on the welfare state and Tibor Machan's article on human rights; the summer 1972 issue contains Hospers' article on human rights; the summer 1972 issue contains Hospers' article on property rights.

The Spring 1971 issue was a double-sized one which sells for $3.00. All other issues sell for $2.00 when purchased individually.

Subscriptions are for a minimum of one year and cost $6.00 per year. They ordinarily begin with the winter issue. Orders should be sent to: Mrs. Daphne Garey, managing editor, *THE PERSONALIST,* School of Philosophy, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California, 90007. Telephone 213-746-2378.

THE COLLEGE AS EXPERIENCE

Joseph Collignon

> The family's function is to repress Eros; to induce a false consciousness of security; to deny death by avoiding life; to cut off transcendence; to believe in God, not to experience the Void; to create, in short, one-dimensional man; to promote respect, conformity, obedience; to con children out of play; to induce a fear of failure; to promote a respect for work; to promote a respect for 'respectability.'
>
> --R. D. Laing,
> *THE POLITICS OF EXPERIENCE*

Laing's description of the family's function seems all too extreme; then particular families come to mind and it no longer seems extreme. What if "school's function" were substituted for "family's function"? Too extreme? It would seem so—until particular schools come to mind.

When I think of my own schooling now, from grade to graduate school, I see it as serving two unintended purposes: setting me a notch above kids from working-class families in my home town and creating in me the most debilitating conformity. This conformity to the demands of my social caste, this slavery to assumed moral codes, to philosophical speculation about the "meaning of it all," this wretched pride in "intellectual accomplishments"—all served well to turn me into the grotesque, death-in-life figure that I was as the graduate.

I wonder how many kids, like me, have run to the dimestore in late August to load up on paper, pencils, erasers, notebooks in eager anticipation for school—then find that enthusiasm killed the first or second week of school. When I started to prep school, I couldn't stand the three-day orientation period; I wanted to start the Latin, the ancient history. Two weeks later I knew it was bad, but I also knew that "one simply doesn't quit." Not that the four years was a complete waste as a learning experience. I learned how adolescents will turn on each other when frustrated by a system based on terror and discipline. I learned that those in charge had to keep the gap between them and the students wide; the few "liberal" and loving instructors were despised much the way that Blacks today despise the plump matron in charge of a committee on fair housing.

Yet even those who can tell similar tales of horror—and even top them—usually find in their educational experience *one* teacher who was free and loving, a free man or a free woman. But that one good experience is often negative for it breaks, temporarily, the "us versus them" protection virtually every student needs. That one good experience makes the next bad one unpardonable. The more I think about my own experience in school the more I wonder that graduates can dredge even one good teacher from memory.

NEGATIVE ASPECTS

For it is not so much the discipline, the terror, the boredom of a particular experience in school that makes it so bad. It is the success the system has with a student in inducing guilt in him, in making him see the world around him as a laboratory experiment, in forcing him to criticize books instead of enjoying them, in forcing him to write correctly in preference to self-expression. That is the bad part. And teachers, for the most part, are "successful" in school. The gap between them and the students is wider at graduation than it will be—with a little bit of luck—their last year before retirement.

I recall when studying for my master's exam that I was particularly taken with Milton's *PARADISE LOST.* I began to sense with great excitement how a "Puritan mind" could translate all experience and emotion into ideas, how a writer obsessed with meaning could attempt to "justify God's ways to men." But what was really fascinating about *PARADISE LOST* to me was the poet's failure to control his materials, his inability ultimately to subordinate the experiences and emotions of men to theological truths. When Milton describes Adam's "fall," he is really describing how Adam becomes human, a lover committed—to hell or Eve or both! Everything Milton can muster to indict Adam, to show the world his "sin," fails. Suddenly I became aware how the Puri-

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tan can lock himself in narrower and narrower tiger cages of abstraction; suddenly I sensed why Milton was such a bitter, righteous man, impossible to live with.

My excitement diminished, however, when the thought occurred to me that, as far as the master's final was concerned, I was wasting my time. These insights were of no concern to the people who would test me. They would want to know about Milton's sources, the critics' commentaries, the structure of the poem. So I left off idly speculating about Milton and Adam and "studied for my exam."

With the acquisition of a master's degree, I left college for a position at a high-school boarding school. I really did not know what to do with these students, so I did what most of us have done: I created the same discipline I had suffered through for eighteen years. I squelched enthusiastic freshmen. I knew it was wrong somehow, they tried to tell me in various ways that it was wrong, but high-school administrators love a good disciplinarian. And I wanted to keep my job. In short, I was afraid—of students and administrators.

There's enough fear going around these days. It may be worse now. When I first began teaching I could always put the students down and please the administrators. The students took it or got out. It's different now. I'm not thinking so much of the Free Speech Movement, student boycotts of particular classes, teach-ins, Black studies, riots. I'm thinking of some of the students at my community college, those few people in a class who let me know when I am tying myself and the rest of the class in abstract knots, when I am being hopelessly irrelevant, when I am an instructor, not a person. When I first came here, there were only one or two in a class. They were resentful, usually dropping after a week or two. The four or five in each class now are not resentful; they simply want to help. For if they allow me to abstract a powerful novel into structure and form, to transmute an emotional impact into dry academese, then they lose. And so do I. These are the students who want to *experience* me, the class, and the subject. If I cannot experience them, they cannot experience me.

UNSTRUCTURED PROGRAM

During the last summer session I discovered that it was not only possible to conduct a class as if all the students were like the usual four or five: it was a fantastic teaching experience. True, I lost four students the first week and almost lost a few more who complained to others (I heard about it at coffee breaks) that "he doesn't know where he's going." In a sense that was a fair complaint. I simply refused to "teach" poetry, the novel or drama. If they had nothing to say about a particular work, we talked about something else. About the closest I came to teaching during that session was to write the assigned papers with the students. Ordinarily I would have been delighted that some of the students would emulate my style and logic; last summer I found that those who ignored my classroom-perfect papers and explored novels, plays and poetry their own way surpassed me in every way—except the classroom-perfect way.

I believe now that a number of students attending my college are ready for something different in the way of education. I believe that some—I have no idea how many—are ready for a totally unstructured program where students can pursue the things that interest them with faculty members who want to explore those things with them.

Before the irresistible impulse to structure this unstructured experiment overcomes me, let me say: what the program will be must be between the student and the instructors who will learn with him.

The experimental college will indeed be a chaotic world in an orderly, academic world, as chaotic, no doubt, as the world we live in.

What all education has been, it seems to me, is an attempt to provide a clean, well-lighted place from the terrors of the unknown. In a grosser age education was calculated terror to match about anything the unknown could muster. Things have changed for the better in recent years, but the advances can be seen only as faint glimmers of light—and the shadow is only too ready to cover.

As chaotic as the world we live in. "I have seen the Bird of Paradise," wrote Ronald Laing, after a harrowing psychic trip, "she has spread herself before me, and I shall never be the same again. There is nothing to be afraid of, nothing. Exactly." ◻

The Ethics of Polygamy

Paul L Gross

Many people assume that polygamy ought to be illegal. Even the United States Supreme Court (in a notorious nineteenth-century case involving Mormons, who fled populated areas to practice their religious beliefs in their frontier community) has upheld the constitutionality of laws prohibiting polygamy. Paul Gross notes in his article that true libertarians oppose antipolygamy laws, just as they do other nonvictim "crimes."

Of course, merely to advocate that consensual adult conduct (e.g., gambling, prostitution, etc.) should not be subject to criminal-law sanctions is not to be confused with either the advocacy of engaging in such conduct, or support for the moral propriety of such conduct.

Utilizing in his discussion well-known characters from Ayn Rand's magnum opus, ATLAS SHRUGGED, Gross offers a provocative analysis of the morality, and practical problems, of the polygamous marriage.

In many libertarian circles the novels of Roberts Heinlein and Rimmer have gained considerable popularity—partly because both authors take rationalist-libertarian ideas seriously, and partly because both are literary Romanticists who use solid plots and themes and portray life "as it might be and ought to be." And, just possibly, because some libertarians are intrigued by the idea that monogamy may not be the only morally proper system of marriage.

In *PROPOSITION 31* [1] Robert Rimmer eloquently makes the point that antipolygamy laws create "crimes" without victims. This goes over very well with all true libertarians, who philosophically are in favor of legalizing polygamous marriages. Their reasoning is: just as people should be free to mess up their own lives with liquor or gambling or drugs, so they should be free to mess them up with polygamy.

Whether or not a person can rationally and morally choose to *practice* polygamy is another question, to date unanswered. To answer it is the purpose of this article.

POLYGAMY FEELS RIGHT

Strangely enough, the principle which gives a moral and rational basis to polygamy was perhaps best stated by a staunch monogamist, Ayn Rand. In *ATLAS SHRUGGED,* she wrote:

> "Francisco, I did love you—" [Dagny] said, and caught her breath, shocked, realizing that . . . this was not the tense she had wanted to use.
>
> "But you do," [Francisco] said calmly, smiling. "You still love me— . . . I'm still what I was, and you'll always see it, and you'll always grant me the same response, even if there's a greater one that you grant to another man. No matter what you feel for him, it will not change what you feel for me, and it won't be treason to either, because it comes from the same root, it's the same payment in answer to the same values." [2]

Consider the implications of this: Emotions, including love and sexual desire, are the result of each man's basic value-premises. They are the automatic response he makes to particular values on the basis of their perceived position in his hierarchy of basic values. [3] (I distinguish between basic and particular values thusly: *basic values* are abstractions—qualities such as rationality, independence, self-esteem, etc. *Particular values* are the actual people or entities one values.)

But if one's responses to particular values are derived exclusively from abstract, basic values, then one will necessarily respond in the same way to *all* the particular values that one perceives to equally meet the terms of the abstraction, the basic value.

Thus there is no interference between what a man feels for one person and what he feels for another, because he responds to the *same* values of character in both of them. In short, it *is* psychologically possible for one person to be deeply and romantically in love with two others (or more) at the same time.

Paul L. Gross aspires to a career as a professional novelist. He is currently pursuing graduate studies in journalism at the University of Oregon in Eugene.

BUT . . .

Once his basic values are chosen, a man's emotions are set. He has no further choice of which particular values he will emotionally respond to. From then on, his only alternative to responding to all particular examples of his basic values is repression, or some other mental sleight-of-hand, which will usually give him such a host of new problems that he may no longer notice the original one.[4] But assuming that a man is bright enough to face his desires openly, his real problem is to decide whether or not the desire he feels is worthy of achievement.

Emotions and desires are not in themselves reasons for engaging in the behavior that satisfies them, nor are they proof that it is in one's actual self-interest that they *be* satisfied. Emotions motivate behavior, but they are not tools of thought with which to judge the wisdom of the behavior they motivate. Only the faculty of reason can judge that.

Thus to determine whether or not polygamy is morally proper, it is necessary to look beyond the natural desire for it, to see if it is *in fact* desirable.

POLYGAMY, PRO AND CON

Polygamy does have certain obvious advantages: In the event of the death of one spouse, it offers increased financial and emotional security—which is particularly advantageous for the elderly and for children. It offers opportunities for increased division of labor within the family and *per capita* reduction of expenses like homes, cars and home appliances. Best of all, polygamy offers a *variety* of intellectual, emotional and physical contacts, through which needs left unsatisfied by one spouse may be met by another.

On the less rosy side of the picture, polygamy entails increased opportunity for personality conflicts: all the squabbles, major and minor, that beset monogamous marriages will be multiplied. Social ostracism or hostility from monogamist parents, friends, employers—and Big Brother—will be a special handicap to pioneer polygamists. Even their own children may put pressure on the marriage, when taunted for the way their parents live. Polygamists who have been raised by monogamous parents are likely to find sharing their spouse uncomfortable: the biases learned in childhood are strong and pervasive. Polygamy also raises questions to which there are no ready-made, culturally tested answers: Who has the right to discipline which children? Who sleeps with whom? Who is responsible for those bills? Who takes out the garbage? (Oh my God!) These questions are hardly insoluble—but they *must* be solved. And solving them without experience or guidance won't be easy.[5]

But at worst all the problems mentioned above present only contextual obstacles to polygamy—not inherent moral problems. That is; for specific people in a specific social situation, one or more such problems may make polygamy unworkable—but the obstacles *may* be eliminated by such measures as moving to a more permissive neighborhood, or learning to recognize—and eliminate—one's psychological hang-ups. Such problems do not affect the basic morality—or immorality—of polygamy.

INHERENT PROBLEMS?

The one essential quality that differentiates monogamy and polygamy is the *exclusive* intimacy granted to one's partner in monogamy. A polygamist may have the highest moral standards in his choice of marital partners—but his love is not the exclusive property of anyone.

Thus the one basic moral question which must be answered to determine the ethical standing of polygamy, *per se,* is this: Does one person's sharing of intellectual, emotional and sexual intimacy with two or more other people logically entail any conflict of interests among them?

I have heard two different arguments used to answer this question "yes," asserting that a conflict of interests *is* the necessary result of nonexclusive intimacy. And if polygamy does require a sacrifice of the interests of even one of the partners to it, then it must be considered immoral and unworthy of practice by any but altruists. For as George Bernard Shaw put it, "If you begin by sacrificing yourself to those you love, you will end by hating those to whom you have sacrificed yourself."[6]

THE PROBLEM OF POSSESSIVENESS

While most libertarians realize that people do not *belong* to other people, even if they happen to be married, it is frighteningly easy to forget that in a society where most marriages are bound with a contract which contains an exclusive-love, exclusive-sex clause ("love, honor and cherish, forsaking all others . . ."). If we are legally and morally obliged to love and have sex with only one other person, the notion of the other as our personal property follows almost naturally.

There may be good reason for the exclusivity clauses, however; it may be that love is devalued and spoiled if one finds that one's spouse loves someone else *more* than oneself. Seeing that one's partner is capable of a greater response than one is able to arouse might easily have an ego-deflating effect leading to resentment and jealousy.

It might. But as far as I know, this has never been

proven. And personally, I'm inclined to doubt it, though my only evidence is introspective: I can see in myself a need to be *well*-loved. This is a need to be perceived and valued—loved—for what I am. It is not a need to be "truly best-loved," nor is it a contest I need to win; it is a personal achievement that is not affected at all by what others may achieve. Even from the same woman.

I submit that the need to compete for emotions and to "win" love is an indication of personal insecurity, not an inherent need of all men. Only a neurotically insecure person needs to prove to himself and to others that he is worthy of his mate by beating away rivals and keeping them away. A man confident of his own value does not need or want to be "better" than anyone. He is content with the best *he* is capable of achieving, and does not resent other men who may be capable of greater achievements. And if he finds that there *are* other men to whom his spouse awards a greater response than he receives—he knows it does not detract from his own moral stature or from the response he has earned from her. And the value of the response he does receive from her will be no less to him.

But even though possessiveness and jealousy may not be inherent in romantic love, they *will* be barriers to polygamy for people low in self-esteem. If a person needs the ego-support of "winning" and "holding" a mate against all comers (neurotically hoping to achieve a sense of value by showing himself "better" than other men), then polygamy is clearly incompatible with his psychological needs. Polygamy is no life style for emotional second-handers who derive their self-esteem from comparisons and contests with others. Nor should one enter into a polygamous marriage with the idea that by so doing he will prove that he does have the self-esteem required to make it work. Self-esteem is the prerequisite—not the result—of polygamy.

THE PROBLEM OF SHARED INTIMACY[7]

One of the most basic characteristics of a romantic relationship is intimacy between the partners—a reciprocal sharing of and identification with each other's thoughts and desires. This intimacy is the unique quality of romantic love—perceiving each other and knowing that one is perceived, and more: perceived as an embodiment of the other's greatest values.[8]

This mutual understanding does not come from magic (or "magnetism" or "chemistry"). There is no knowledge without learning—and attaining the mutual understanding of romantic intimacy takes time and effort. It requires that one wish to learn all that is most important to the other—to learn the basic qualities of their "soul." To achieve the desired sense of mutual psychological visibility and sanction, each partner must come to understand deeply the other's greatest values, and to identify with his achievement of them.

The problem such intimacy requirements pose for polygamy is: if one person deeply loves two others and both of them reciprocate this love, then each of the two peripheral partners will come to identify with the central partner's love for the other. The love the peripheral partners have for the central partner will cause them to become intimate with each other, so that each may fully understand the crucial value the other represents to the one they love.

This pressure for intimacy between co-spouses *may* be so great that the mere intellectual and emotional closeness of friendship cannot satisfy it; the intimacy possible in friendship is at best an order of magnitude less than that of a romantic sexual relationship. To achieve a satisfying degree of intimacy, then, the two peripheral partners may feel the need for sexual intimacy with each other. In other words, psychological pressure for bisexuality may be inherent in all romantic polygamous relationships.

I know of no evidence either to confirm or deny this thesis—but then, I don't know any polygamists, either. I mention this idea simply because it strikes me as logically plausible and worthy of study. In passing, I note that it does raise one further question: Even if bisexuality does result from polygamy—*what's wrong with that?*

Human sex roles and preferences are learned, not psychologically inherent. And while the complementarity of male and female sex organs probably makes heterosexuality most rewarding, I can think of no reason to consider homosexual relations intrinsically either immoral or neurotic. Is heterosexuality really so sacred?

IDEAL POLYGAMY

Like many admirers of Ayn Rand, I sometimes amuse myself by speculating about the characters in her novels just as if they were real people. It's a lazy man's way to attack philosophical questions—but it's just more fun to think of "Dagny Taggart" than it is to think of "a rational woman of high ability, self-esteem and intelligence." Miss Rand's characters are so self-consistent and their motives so transparent that one can use and manipulate them without losing sight of the principles actually involved.

So to show the way polygamy might work for rational people in a rational society (discounting the possibly insurmountable problems discussed above), I present one of my favorite speculations: using the major characters of *ATLAS SHRUGGED* in the

context of the society of Galt's Gulch, just suppose that Dagny Taggart chose to marry not only John Galt, but also Francisco d'Anconia and Hank Rearden—at the same time.

From the information Miss Rand has given us, we know that all four characters are intransigent rational egoists. And we know that Dagny loves Galt the most, but she does also love and sexually desire both other men. And all three men are deeply in love with her. So if Dagny marries the whole pack of them, who is hurt, whose interests are sacrificed—and/or who *gains* what?

It does make fun speculating. What *I* think would happen runs thisaway: Basically, all three men would receive the benefits of intellectual, sexual and emotional companionship from Dagny (and *vice versa*). However, the men would not receive these benefits equally. Since Dagny does love Galt the most, she would naturally—and properly—choose to spend most of her time with him. The key to making the marriage work is that no one is *ever* obliged to spend time with anyone else—there must be no "duty" to anyone but oneself.

This is probably a good rule for all marriages, but in polygamy nothing else will work: if one spouse may be coerced against his own preference by reminding him of "duties" or "obligations" to another—and if a spouse can think of himself as wronged when he doesn't get all the attention he wants—then resentment and jealousy will make short work of the marriage.

Robert Rimmer's notion of polygamy is that spouses should take equal turns with each other. I find this unrealistic unless all spouses are loved equally. Case in point, if Dagny were to be deprived of Galt's attentions two-thirds of the time, no matter how *she* felt about it, she would opt for monogamy again, fast.

Ayn Rand named the proper principle to follow in marriage when she wrote (in *ANTHEM*): "I shall love and cherish, but neither command nor obey. And we shall join hands when we wish, or walk alone when we so desire. For in the temple of the spirit each man is alone. Let each man keep his temple untouched and undefiled."[9]

So given that Dagny will prefer Galt most of the time, would she *ever* choose the company of one of the others? Yes. For two reasons: 1) She *does* love them—she wouldn't want to ignore them indefinitely. The time required to maintain an intimate relationship, once it has been solidly established, is not prohibitive. 2) Galt won't always be available or disposed to be with her. Even apart from time spent alone at work, people do need some time to themselves, for thought and rest.

And when Dagny does choose Hank or Francisco for sex or companionship, is Galt getting robbed? Not really. Because Dagny is not his property. And he knows it. He might feel a momentary, out-of-context disappointment when a desire of his is thwarted—but *only* momentarily, because he knows his desire is not in itself a claim on reality—or on Dagny. Further, he knows it is not in his own self-interest to try to monopolize her, for at least three reasons: (a) Because her right to choose to be with him (when he also wants her) entails her right to choose *not* to be with him—for any time, any reason she chooses. Allowing this state of affairs is to his interest because *only* when she has such freedom of choice is her choice *of him* meaningful, and the tribute he wants from her. (b) Her independent judgment and her right to act on it are precious to him—they are integral parts of what he values in her. It is not in his interest to try to destroy them. (c) He knows that she does love him. And he knows this love is not threatened or diminished by what she feels—or does—with another man. And knowing that she responds to the same values in the others that she responds to in him, he cannot *wish* for her to stop loving them, because she could not do so without ceasing to love him too. He sanctions the romantic relationship between her and the other men—sex and all—because it is no more than an honest expression of love it is proper for her to feel. And it costs him nothing. If he were to tell Dagny to break off with the others, for no better reason than his displeasure—she would resent it, and him.

In short, Galt *could never want* more from Dagny than she is willing to grant him. Anything more would be given him for *his* sake, not hers, and would be an act of altruism which he could not accept, being the man he is. It is not his nature or hers to make or accept sacrifices.

The same principles apply to Hank and Francisco: they might briefly feel out-of-context disappointment when Dagny chooses to be with Galt—but they recognize and approve her right to make that choice. They still love her and are confident of her love for them—as they should be. Since she is *never* under obligation to come to them, her uncoerced choice to do so is proof of her love beyond doubting.

However, as most of Dagny's free time will be wrapped up with Galt, if Hank or Francisco still feels lonely or sexually unsatisfied—either one of them is perfectly free to start a relationship with another woman, if he can find one who meets his standards. At worst, if they find no other women comparable to Dagny, and if their relationship with her does leave them partly unsatisfied—they are *still* better off with the polygamous marriage. Because in a strictly monogamous society under those conditions, they would have to be absolutely celibate and would have far less companionship of any sort with Dagny.

As for Dagny ... In a monogamous marriage, she would be limited to one other adult with whom to satisfy her needs for sexual satisfaction, intimate communication and understanding. That's a lot even for a John Galt to give a woman of such depth and intelligence, all by himself. In polygamy, on the other hand, Dagny has three different men to communicate with, to care for and be cared for by. Interests one husband does not share with her may be shared with another. Needs not fulfilled by one man may be met by another. In short, polygamy provides her with greater opportunity to be more completely understood, appreciated and loved than she could hope for from any monogamous marriage.

BUT IN CONTEXT ...

This system of polygamy does have its attractive points—for uninhibited, scrupulously rational people—in a rational, libertarian civilization. Unfortunately, few people are really that free of insecurity or of the monogamous biases of their upbringing. Few real people have the rational selfishness *not* to make sacrifices for those they love—and not to accept them. Few real people have the undeviating respect for their spouse's freedom of choice and freedom of action which is *absolutely* necessary if polygamous marriages are to be kept from dissolving in jealousy and resentment.

And we are far indeed from having a rational, libertarian society. Friends and neighbors, parents and children, employers and fellow employees—not to mention the press and police—can and do exert a tremendous amount of pressure to break up polygamous marriages. It is just not possible for many people to even consider polygamy—it would simply destroy their lives: cost them their jobs, their prized friendships, their community standing—make their children and parents miserable, and maybe land them in jail.

Further, the psychological side-effects of polygamy are still largely unknown. Jealousy may be inevitable after all. Or the need for intimacy with one's co-spouse might drive one into a homosexual relationship. We may doubt the likelihood of such inherent problems—but we don't *know.*

After weighing the potential advantages of polygamy against the real disadvantages of trying to achieve it, my own conclusion is that a successful polygamous marriage—here and now—would require the same quality of soul as it takes to reach the fabled goals of Valhalla, Atlantis or Galt's Gulch. Sheer heroism. Or sheer damn-foolishness: the damn-foolishness with which Prometheus stole the fire of the gods. The heroism that laughs at costs and chances and goes straight ahead to achieve what is right and beautiful.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] Robert H. Rimmer, *PROPOSITION 31* (1968).
[2] Ayn Rand, *ATLAS SHRUGGED* 713-14 (1957).
[3] Cf. Nathaniel Branden, *THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SELF-ESTEEM* Chapter V, Section I "Emotions and Values" (1969).
[4] Cf. Branden, *ibid.*, Chapter V, Section III "Emotions and repression: the repression of negatives" and Section IV "Emotions and repression: the repression of positives."
[5] For a good discussion of the practical pros and cons of polygamy, see a paper by H. J. Levy "What About Group Marriage?"—available from *FAMILY SYNERGY* magazine for $1.00. (*FAMILY SYNERGY,* P.O. Box 30103, Terminal Annex, Los Angeles, CA 90030).
[6] George Bernard Shaw, *MAN AND SUPERMAN* 244 (maxims for Revolutionists) (1903).
[7] This problem was suggested to me by Ronald E. Merrill (author of various articles in past issues of *REASON*), to whom. I acknowledge my intellectual debt—and offer my apologies for the butchery he will undoubtedly consider my presentation of his idea.
[8] Cf. Branden, *supra*, Chapter XI "Self-Esteem and Romantic Love."
[9] Ayn Rand, *ANTHEM* 111 (1946). ◻

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Let's Establish a NEW Gold Standard

J. M. Cobb

One of the clearest defining issues for a libertarian these days is his stand on the question of gold. Ask a non-libertarian whether or not gold ownership should be legal, or whether money should be based on the value of a gram of gold, and you will hear a cacaphony of hums and haws. A libertarian will announce definitely that you ought to be able to buy gold with your dollars.

In a recent column in *NEWSWEEK,* the most widely read Nobel Prize winning economist in America, Paul Samuelson, came out with a vaguely reasoned put-down of the New Orleans Committee to legalize gold, among others (like the French), because gold speculators would cash in on the transaction and the government would lose money. This is not a sufficient reason for making gold a contraband good, put Prof. Samuelson has always confused the concept of the public good with the health of the state.

Others, however, have argued in favor of the gold standard without presenting the argument in terms which the financial community could relate to. The financial community is our fourth or fifth branch of government, with a de facto veto over public policy. The Federal Reserve System is not likely to be abolished in the next hundred years. The question then becomes, *can a method be found to establish the gold standard within the framework of the financial community without any short term dislocations?* Of course, the overall direction of monetary policy would take an about-face with the adoption of the gold standard. Yet, can this about-face be accomplished without any short term dislocations? It can.

One problem, however, with both the conventional advocate of the gold standard and the mainstream conservative banker who is against the gold standard is that both men are price-fixers. The advocate of the gold standard would say, "The dollar should equal one-half gram of gold." At that point, the banker would start to choke and say, "But there isn't enough gold in the world to supply the demand for cash balances." Excess demand is an old familiar consequence of price fixing. Price-fixing is obviously a bad idea, regardless of who advocates it.

PRICE-FIXING UNNECESSARY

There should be no need to fix the price of gold in order to have redeemable dollars. The Treasury could buy gold in the free market at the free market price any time that someone turned in a dollar and demanded specie. Of course, the weight of the gold is going to change over time—if the government is debasing the money. This, in fact, would be the chief indication that a public policy of fixed and stable purchasing power was not being adhered to. This is the goal for libertarians: *Money of stable value, such that the government cannot debase it.*

Some of the Austrian economists, especially non-professional laymen, compound the problem for libertarians by arbitrarily giving a definition of "money" which is so unusual in today's economic system as to surprise any non-initiate who knows about business and finance. Let me give an illustration of this.

The American Express Company sells (or leases) the use of something which they call "the money card." This is private money—no legal tender, no government regulation. The people who carry the money card are individuals who pass certain market tests of honesty and credit-worthiness. With my money card I can buy almost as many consumer goods as with ten green Federal Reserve Notes bearing Mr. Jackson's picture. Both my money card and my greenbacks represent a liquidity asset. The fact that I have to pay in advance for the latter, and that it says "legal tender" on the front, is not relevant—because I can use the card to get the notes. Money is not a "thing" in the same way that a diamond is a "thing."

The policy objective which libertarians want to achieve with the gold standard is not the aesthetic novelty of gold coins in circulation—although we do want that to be possible, whereas today it is unlawful. We want *private money* of a fixed, stable value in

terms of all other goods which we might want to buy with it. We understand that government money, especially when the state deliberately hinders competition, cannot be trusted. There is no way that government agents can be trusted to avoid short term fiscal folly in pursuit of their short term political careers.

Yet "government money" is here to stay. It is even superior, economically, in one way—it lowers the transactions costs of trade because it is accepted in every bank in the land where a seller might wish to deposit it. The same cannot be said in favor of all private banknotes (with the obvious exception of American Express Travelers' Checks, which are private currency). It is economically handy to have a unit of value (dollar, mark, yen) which is independent of physical dimensions (size, weight, color). The greenback dollar is a handy unit of value, widely accepted and recognized—and here to stay. What we want is for the value of the greenback dollar to stop eroding toward zero, because too many people stand to lose too much.

We see the gold standard as the way to accomplish this stable value for the dollar, but nobody has yet proposed a gold standard without price fixing. You see, a gold standard without price fixing might as well be labeled a *commodity standard,* or a *tabular standard*—based on a table of values for many commodities. The protest from the price-fixers against such an idea comes from the fallacy of assuming that money is a "thing." How can it be more than one "thing" at a time? But money is not a thing like that.

STABLE MONEY SUPPLY

The research which Milton Friedman has done into the effects of changes in the supply of money over time, effects on the value of money, the planned spending levels of businesses and individuals, the consequential mistakes which are made in setting prices too high or too low for full employment, etc., all indicate that *a "supply of money" which is held relatively fixed would be optimum, from the standpoint of a libertarian capitalist.* Friedman does not start with a definition of "money." He assigned a working definition to his statistical regressions, and he changes the definition from time to time.

I believe that it can now be said (whereas even twenty years ago, you couldn't say it truthfully) that the money supply *can* be stabilized, with the market mechanisms and the information at our disposal, such that the price of gold—or any other base price commodity—would neither rise nor fall except to reflect changes in supply and demand for the metal, and not changes in supply and demand for the money.

If the Federal Reserve System would cease its attempts to manipulate foreign exchange rates, government bond prices, home mortgage interest rates, and unemployment statistics, and focus on the economic target of a stabilized money supply, it just might succeed. To stabilize the money supply is not a simple task. It cannot be done by decree. In spite of the historical fact that governments have always tampered with money, and usually because of lower transactions costs dominated the market, money is one of the most purely laissez faire inventions since language. Private money exists everywhere that you can locate a store of value which is acceptable enough generally to also become a medium of exchange. Remember the cigarettes and coffee used in the prison camps, or the negotiable value of your old car when you are buying a new one. The only thing which the Federal Reserve bankers should do is measure the gross effect of the millions of private economic transactions, and adjust the volume of outstanding greenbacks (either decrease the number, or increase it) in order to hold the prices of everything else stable—or as Milton Friedman has most lately recommended, to hold the quantity of money (specifically defined) constant and allow a slow drop in prices as the years go by.

The gold standard without price fixing is a realistic policy objective for libertarians. Legalize the ownership of gold, and stabilize the money supply of greenbacks and bank credit. Combined with free trade, the ownership of gold, or yen, or marks, or dollars would represent a very simple prescription for economic freedom for anyone who might feel insecure. On the international level, already, the multinational corporations have arrived at this solution. The Middle East Arab oil billionaires can do it. Next comes the little man in the street.

Libertarians have to come out in favor of the gold standard, but not in favor of price fixing for the dollar. The precise argument should be in favor of free ownership of gold, and a fixed supply of greenbacks and bank credit. With free banking, private deposit insurance, and competitive banknotes like American Express checks, the only function of the Federal Reserve System would be to buy and sell bonds on the open market to offset short term secular trends in monetary supply and demand.

The attempt by many libertarians to make an *idee fixe* out of gold coins defeats the more important goal of selling the idea of private finance capitalism, free of government pollution, to businessmen and economists who think we are nuts. ◻

Joe Michael Cobb is Vice-Chairman of the Libertarian Party of Illinois. He is the political analyst of the Committee for the Anti-Inflation Amendment.

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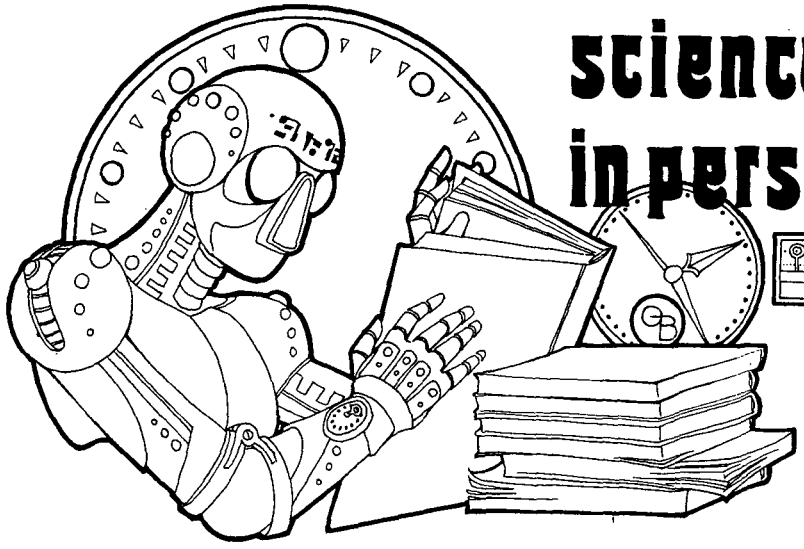

science fiction in perspective

JOHN J PIERCE

John Pierce's Science Fiction column alternates monthly in REASON *with Davis Keeler's Money column.*

Science fiction would no doubt have remained a popular form of entertainment even if it had held to the course originally charted for it by Jules Verne.

But it would probably never have achieved any philosophical importance had it not been for H. G. Wells—a strange and ambiguous figure whose place in the history of literature and ideas has never been properly appreciated.

Forty years ago, Wells was a literary celebrity—so famous, and taken so seriously, that no one thought it out of place for him to drop in on Roosevelt or Stalin as if he were a roving ambassador. His brand of technocratic socialism was considered "advanced" and "progressive."

Today, he seems an anachronism. "Technocracy" is a dirty word, even among socialists—it seems to imply disregard for the environment—and certainly nothing to endear him to libertarians. His "Outline of History," once regarded as a masterpiece, seems windy and opinionated.

In fact, were it not for his science fiction—which continues to be reprinted, year after year—Wells today would be virtually unknown. His mainstream novels—*KIPPS, A HISTORY OF MR. POLLY,* and the like—are period pieces: inferior adaptations of what Dickens did decades earlier.

Born in 1866, Wells grew up in a restricted, lower-middle class environment that he quickly came to hate. An imaginative and rather introverted youth, he revolted against repeated attempts to apprentice him into dull trades (draper's assistant and the like). He had no idea what he was for, but all too clear a conception of what he was against.

When he got a chance to study science, it was like a breath of fresh air. One of his teachers was none other than T. H. Huxley, the champion of Darwin's theory of evolution against the Victorian religious establishment. To one formerly hemmed in by the trivialities of Victorian society, the vistas of science and evolution were heady stuff.

Wells trained to be a science teacher, but he didn't really have the patience for it. He seemed more interested in the revolution science was making in man's conception of space and time than in the practicalities of a scientific career. When he contributed a couple of abstruse essays to magazines, one of his editors suggested he try writing stories.

Already he had worked by fits and starts on something called *THE CHRONIC ARGONAUTS,* a time travel story in the style of Hawthorne that—had it been finished—would never have amounted to much. In the grip of his new thoughts on space and time, however, he completely rewrote the novel in 1895. The new version was called *THE TIME MACHINE.*

NEW LITERARY PERSPECTIVE

Despite its title, *THE TIME MACHINE* is more a philosophical fantasia than a "time travel" story in the commonly accepted sense (most modern examples are based on plot twists involving paradoxes like the time traveler killing one of his ancestors). It was the first literary expression of the new consciousness of space and time implicit in the Darwinian revolution.

Wells was obsessed with the complacency of Victorian society, which believed all its institutions to be ordained by God, and therefore eternally valid. Progress, to the Victorians, meant the apotheosis of Victorian moral and social values—and since this progress was divinely ordained, it would be automatic. No need to take thought for the future; that would take care of itself.

But where Victorian society saw God's plan being fulfilled, Wells could see only a great void. Samuel Butler had already condemned Darwin for "banishing mind from the universe," and so it seemed. Without a God, without a divine creation and plan for mankind, how could there be any purpose in existence? To the Victorians, Darwin might well be horrifying.

To most critics, *THE TIME MACHINE* is an imaginative tale that fortunately transcends the rather simple notion of the aristocracy and the proletariat evolving into separate species (the *Elois* and the *Morlocks*) living in a degenerate sort of symbiosis. But the most important thing about the story is that it looks at mankind from an entirely new perspective.

Seen from the perspective of millions of years, Victorian values seem trivial indeed. And whether anyone takes the details of Wells' social criticism seriously—they are from a socialist, though not a Marxist, viewpoint—is unimportant beside the interpretation of the Victorian world view as futile and transitory in light of this evolutionary perspective.

The Elois live for the moment, and take their lives completely for granted. It is no matter to them that they are doomed to extinction, or that their lives of leisure

are paid for in cannibalism on the part of the Morlocks who feed and clothe them. They have no curiosity, no ambition, no imagination. They have committed what Wells calls the "suicide of the intellect," and can scarcely be regarded as more human than the Morlocks.

RELIGION PARABLE

Not that traditional values had ever made men truly human to begin with, Wells thought. In *THE ISLAND OF DR. MOREAU* (1895), usually regarded merely as an allegory about the beast in man, he is really telling a parable about the failure of religion, at least the religion of arbitrary commandments imposed by force or fear.

Dr. Moreau, a renegade vivisectionist, has learned how to make beasts into men—physically. Spiritually, they are still beasts—but for a weird faith dinned into their minds by one of Moreau's assistants. Its commandments—"Not to go on all fours, that is the law, are we not men? Not to eat flesh or fish, that is the law, are we not men?" and so on—are effective as long as they are enforced by Moreau's "divine" power. But no sooner is that removed than the created *"men" begin to revert to beasts.*

Wells carried the Darwinian struggle for existence to an interplanetary scale with *THE WAR OF THE WORLDS* (1898). Man might be supreme on one planet, but that did not mean he should complacently assume his place in the universe is secure. If natural selection should choose some other species, it would be just too bad for mankind—unless some factor in the Earthly environment should work to his advantage.

The Martians in *THE WAR OF THE WORLDS* were imitated countless times in the BEM's (Bug-eyed monsters) of pulp science fiction. Too many writers overlooked Wells' real intention: to show that mankind could take space for granted no more than time, that Earth is a small planet and that if mankind is to "matter" at all in the universe, it will never be by cultivating his garden.

WHEN THE SLEEPER WAKES (1899) and its companion pieces, "A Story of the Days to Come" and "A Dream of Armageddon" are short-term (compared to *THE TIME MACHINE*) extrapolations of social trends, and a warning against the notion (popularized by Bellamy's *LOOKING BACKWARD*) that the natural course of events will lead to utopia. "We were making the future," exclaims the protagonist of *WHEN THE SLEEPER WAKES* when he finds himself in the grim world of 2100. "And hardly any of us troubled to think what future we were making."

POTENTIAL OF EVOLUTION

Against the bleak forecasts of his early novels, what salvation could Wells offer? Only the power of the human imagination. If the vision of a vast and Godless universe revealed by data of evolution had destroyed all the old mythologies on which mankind had so long depended, perhaps some purpose could still be found by making *evolution itself* into a mythology.

After all, Wells reasoned, man has intelligence—and therefore immense potentialities—if only he would develop them. Evolution had equipped men—be it only accidentally—with a *sense* of purpose, with curiosity and imagination, with the desire for self-fulfillment. Perhaps these could be made the basis of a new "faith."

There were hints of this even in his "pessimistic" works, such as the narrator's intention to devote himself to the ethereal pursuit of astronomy at the end of *THE ISLAND OF DR. MOREAU,* and the protagonist's bitter assertion that, "We are *not dumb atoms, we are part of it,*" towards conclusion of "A Story of the Days to Come." But the first direct expression of the new faith was in a nonfiction work, *THE DISCOVERY OF THE FUTURE.*

In this book, Wells issues an evangelical appeal to mankind to realize its evolutionary potential, and his pseudo-Biblical language is certainly not accidental: "The past is but the beginning of the beginning, and all that is and has been is but the twilight of the dawn. . . . A day will come when beings who are not latent in our thoughts and hidden in our loins shall stand upon this earth as one stands on a footstool, and shall laugh and reach out their hands among the stars."

Wells went on to write a visionary allegory of evolution, *THE FOOD OF THE GODS* (1903), in which the "food" that makes everything grow by leaps and bounds symbolizes the scientific knowledge that Wells hoped would liberate and enlarge human imagination and achievement.

This "imaginative megalomania," as Wells was wont to call it, was loosely tied to his utopian socialism, but in fact transcended it: in Wells' vision, even a utopia would be evil if it led to stagnation and complacency. Only by furthering his evolutionary possibilities could man find any ultimate purpose in existence. Twenty years before Julian Huxley coined the term "evolutionary humanism," *THE FOOD OF THE GODS* had created the mythology of a new religion.

VISIONARY, NOT THEORETICIAN

What Wells never realized was that he was a better visionary than a theoretician. When he tried to create a practical expression of his vision (*A MODERN UTOPIA,* 1905), he ended up with a strange amalgam of libertarian (a la William Morris) and authoritarian (a la Plato's *REPUBLIC*) ideas that, in the end, won adherents in neither camp.

When he stormed into the Fabian Society, urging its members to transform themselves into an Order of Samurai and reshape the world in the image of his utopia, Wells was laughed at as an impetuous upstart and eventually resigned in disgust. Soured by the reception to his call for an imaginative revolution, he became petulant—picking quarrels with people like Bernard Shaw and Henry James.

Wells even renounced "art," in favor of journalism, and looked for new saviors to implement utopia—internationalist statesmen in *THE WORLD SET FREE* (1913) and *THE KING WHO WAS A KING* (1929), technocratic airmen and engineers in *THE SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME* (1933). The original vision became lost in attempts to devise an institutional—and usually hierarchic and authoritarian—answer to man's problems.

Only in the screenplay for *THINGS TO COME* (1935), in which Wells' own imagination was stimulated by his involvement with a new art form and its possibilities as a medium for expression of general ideas—rather than for conventional lectures or sermons—did the evolutionary vision of *THE FOOD OF THE GODS* return in Oswald Cabal's parting speech:

> For man, no rest, and no ending. He must go on, conquest beyond conquest. First this little planet, with its winds and ways, and all the laws of mind and matter that restrain him; then the planets about him, and at last, outward across immensity to the stars. And when he has conquered all the deeps of space and all the mysteries of time, still he will be beginning.

Despite its technocratic trappings, *THINGS TO COME* is essentially a philosophical motion picture, with Cabal's ideas pitted against those of

Theotocopulos ("How can we be happy when your science is continually changing life for us? When you are everlastingly contriving strange things? When you make what we think great seem small? When you make what we think strong seem feeble?") in the climactic struggle over the firing of the "space gun."

Wells' technocracy never took, but his philosophy became the basis of most modern science fiction—including works by writers like Arthur C. Clarke, Robert A. Heinlein, Lester del Rey, Cordwainer Smith, Ray Bradbury, and Ursula LeGuin, who had little interest in, or were even violently opposed to, his political ideas. In science fiction, it has become commonplace to examine social, political and moral issues from a Wellsian evolutionary perspective, even though this may not always be obvious from superficial reading.

It is basically Wellsian philosophy, too, that gives science fiction its continuing values—a respect for intelligence, even a feeling for the brotherhood of intelligent species, no matter what their outward form, in sharing a common universe of evolutionary problems and challenges; and a sense that exploration, invention and discovery are the real concerns of mankind, rather than transitory cultural values. ◻

foreign correspondent

GHENT, BELGIUM

Martin Bormann may be dead (at the time I am writing this he has once again risen from the grave and been reburied) but his and his old fellows' spirit is alive: in our tiny neighbour, **Luxembourg**, people wanting to marry, have to submit from now on to a medical examination. And no wedding bells, of course, if it happens to show unsatisfactory results. Even more funny (for you have to regard these things as good, if somewhat sinister jokes, if you don't want to be driven into neurosis): the prominent Flemish newspaper, which carried this news had two sidethoughts about it:

1. why only a medical examination and not also one about sexuality, fertility and psycho-hygiene (whatever that may be), and
2. why are we, Belgians, so backward once again not to follow this good example.

I have to avow, shamefacedly, that on reading this for a few seconds I almost felt proud to be a Belgian. Temporary weakness!

At the same time when this happened (i.e. at the end of March), the **German** government adopted a divorce bill of rather mixed value. Ratification by parliament may take one year. A fault, committed by one of the partners, would no longer be the ground for divorce. A simple statement by the judge that the marriage looks like a failure, would be sufficient. He would be allowed, however, to make that statement only after both partners have lived separated for one year in case they both agree on the divorce. If only one partner wants the divorce, three years would be necessary. The judge could refuse to grant the divorce if it would inflict severe hardship on one of the partners. Economic considerations, however, could not be considered as such. These problems, indeed, have to be regulated rather by alimony, which again would no longer be based on "fault" but on the economic and social position of the partners.

These new regulations may provide some improvement from the current state of affairs but will scarcely provoke libertarian enthusiasm.

A footnote to the **Belgian** abortion problems: it's amusing to see how especially the Catholics, who are largely responsible for our repressive contraceptives legislation, have become enlightened and broad-minded overnight. As excellent tacticians, they have seen they would lose *that* fight anyway. Now their theme runs: "If contraceptives were more readily available, abortion would not be necessary." It is also somewhat alarming to see how Mr. Vanderpoorten (Minister of Justice, and successor of the infamous Mr. Franckx), who was supposed to be a progressive, starts discovering the virtues of "prudence and moderation". While his Freedom and Progress Party continues making a rather libertarian stand on abortion, he himself makes statements like: "I don't like women who always talk about their belly" (hereby alluding to the well-known feminist slogan: every woman master in her own belly).

Suddenly we, too, discovered we had an inflation problem. During 1972, e.g., the price of potatoes rose by 81 percent, steak and roast beef went up by 22 percent, bread by 11. This year, for January alone, the cost of living went up by a whole percent. Finding the heat rising too sharply, the Minister of Economic Affairs thought he urgently needed breaking the thermometer: price controls will be reinforced and all companies will have to get prior permission from the government for all proposed increases.

The same newspaper mentioned above sympathizingly represented the fact that the professional union of photographers had decided to take legal action against amateurs committing unfair commercial practices. As you may have guessed, these practices consisted in doing the same thing the professionals did and charging a lower price for it.

But the real masters in securing their own monopoly position are the doctors, as shown in previous columns. Here is another example: The official doctors' organization of Brussels has brought an action against 28 chiropractors, charging that chiropraxis is part of medical science and that, therefore, the chiropractors, none of whom has a doctor's certificate, practice medicine illegally. If the court sustains this point of view, the chiropractors will either have to kiss their profession goodbye or become employed as paramedical assistants with Herr Doktor.

In the meantime, the government of **Denmark** is pushing for what may become the finest example of economic collectivism in the western world. It proposes the compulsory establishing in every concern of an "Employee Fund" which ultimately should amount to 5 per cent of all salaries paid. The employers would have to provide all the money for the fund, but would be totally excluded from the council controlling its use. This council would consist of six employee and four Big Brother representatives. Every employee could claim his part of the fund after seven years. Its amount would not be calculated according to his own salary, but to the average concern salary.

Well, so much for a balanced picture of recent events in Europe: some of the news was bad and some was very bad.

Guy de Maertelaere

libertarian party correspondent—

"Under the American system of government it is very hard to get rid of an incompetent or dishonest man in a high place."

—H. L. Mencken

As the Watergate scandal continues to undermine public confidence in the two party system, we can't help but be encouraged by Mencken's commentary. Clearly there exist sufficient skeletons in the Watergate closet to provide the media with undermining material for months to come. Equally clear is the fact that the President will maintain his high place to the bitter end. With enemies like this Administration, the Libertarian Party doesn't need any friends.

But one friend we do have is Roger Lea MacBride, the gentleman from Virginia who cast his vote in the 1972 Electoral College for LP candidates John Hospers and Tonie Nathan. MacBride was recently invited to deliver a keynote address to the state convention of the Washington Libertarian Party via tape recording. The text of that speech, which was given on May 25, has been included in this month's column because we believe it provides an eloquent statement of the purposes of the Libertarian Party:

"You are in the forefront of that branch of the Libertarian movement destined to make the greatest impact upon the history of this country and doubtless of the world. You will recall that in 1917 modern Communism was confined to a rented room in Switzerland where Lenin was prudently hiding, biding his time. Only thirty-five years later his Marxist doctrine held sway over half the world. That collectivist and reactionary revolution was achieved by force, exchanging with no one's consent except those who used the force, that brand of statism for what existed before.

"I mention that bit of modern history because I believe Libertarian Party members are, so to speak, the 'rented room' of Libertarianism. And particularly you here in Washington State, who, with Colorado, were instrumental in achieving a historic 1972 first ballot position for the Libertarian Party. In thirty-five years how far shall we have advanced?

"We cannot impose our principles by the use of force; those same principles forbid it. And if by some sophistry we convince ourselves otherwise the effort would be self-defeating. Hence, the use of the political process, which in this country involves the consent of individuals, is our essential method. It is indissolubly united with the vital need to educate our fellows, but it remains the essential route of our ultimate goal of the destruction of the engines of power over our personal lives.

"You are pioneers of our cause. After a century and a half, you are connected up with a thirst for freedom of those remarkable persons who founded this still, but barely, viable republic: Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Paine, amongst others, theoreticians who knew the utility of the political process. You do too. You have counted the cost of the contest in which you are engaged. Your cause is just. Your resources are great. Your energy and dedication will overcome the engines of despotism and all those who work them.

"The victory shall be yours."

STATE PARTY REPORTS

CALIFORNIA. Thirty people were in attendance at a LPC Ex Com meeting held at state Chairman Ed Clark's home. Well over half of the LPC's 20 regions have functioning organizations. The Party will sponsor an initiative petition for the 1974 ballot as part of its campaign to gain exposure and members. The LPC continues to have excellent success having its editorial responses carried on radio and T.V. stations.

COLORADO. LP members Reba Cross, Ann Wiley, Erick Westling and Bob Wason ran for the Colorado Springs City Council and each made an impressive showing. Cross received 40% of the vote in her race and Wiley came in 4th in a 10-way contest.

ILLINOIS. Over 200 people attended a recent gold investment seminar (at $10 a head) sponsored by the Illinois LP. The financial success of this project has encouraged other state LP organizations to follow suit.

LOUISIANA. Among the numerous local organizations of the LPL the most active has been the Baton Rouge Citizens for Libertarianism. Michele Fry and Roger Adcock have helped that organization conduct projects on the LSU campus as well as one for the National Tax Protest Day. State Chairman Dr. Jerry Millett (318-984-6012) was one of the featured speakers at the ILS Seminar in Texas.

MASSACHUSETTS. The state LP has close to 100 members and has recently had good radio and television coverage.

NEVADA. State Chairman Dave Lizzio is in charge of organizing southern Nevada support for the Liberty Amendment which was endorsed by the national LP. A state convention is being planned for later this summer.

NEW JERSEY. Libertarian Party gubernatorial candidate John Goodson has received considerable support and good media coverage. His program includes a 10-year moratorium on legislation. An interesting sidelight to this campaign is the $200,000 contribution that Atlantic City Mayor Brodway has promised to any candidate for Governor who supports legalization of gambling. Candidate Goodson, of course, has obliged the Mayor who at last report was suffering from a sudden attack of amnesia.

NEW YORK. Newly elected State Chairperson Andrea Millen (who probably is the first LP member to be the object of an old fashioned political demonstration) plans to emphasize publicity and membership drives during the current year. Jack Brookner has been active in giving editorial replys. Spencer Pinney wants to counter the NYC Charter Revision Committee with a movement to abolish New York City. About 30 FLPers are planning to attend the national convention.

OHIO. State Chairperson Kay Harroff reports that LP activity in Ohio is accelerating. She has had very good success with the media and in particular with respect to the Tax Protest held in Cleveland. Ross Black, Cuyahoga County Chairman, has the most active regional organization.

UTAH. Karl Bray, state Chairman, was arrested by IRS agents last April for no apparent reason. As usual no warrant or court order was used by the IRS in making the arrest. Bray claims $30,000 was stolen by the agents from his office during the 14 hours he was in jail.

WASHINGTON. Results of the May 25-27 convention were not in at press time

but it was anticipated that over 100 people would be in attendance. LP Presidential candidate, Dr. John Hospers, was scheduled to speak.

NOTES:
Murray Rothbard, Tonie Nathan and Roger MacBride are scheduled to speak on June 8 at the national convention in Cleveland . . . Over 200 LP members are expected to attend this "off year" convention primarily for workshop and discussion purposes as no official business will take place . . . It appears that state LP organizations got considerable mileage out of the SIL sponsored National Tax Protest Day . . . Rothbard's new support of the LP has encouraged many previously noncommitted libertarians to join the LP . . . State party news should be sent to Reason Reports c/o LPC, P.O. Box 71383, Los Angeles, CA 90071.

Edward H. Crane, III

movies

REVIEWED BY CHARLES BARR

• **THE DAY OF THE JACKAL** is a handsomely mounted, meticulously crafted espionage thriller which, despite its excessive length, will probably rank as one of the best pictures of the year. The events are pure fiction, interwoven into a background of solid fact which gives the film at times an almost documentary flavor. The plot centers around an attempt by leaders of the OAS (remember them?) to assassinate French President Charles de Gaulle, shortly after the decolonization of Algeria. They hire a professional killer, code-named "The Jackal," who travels around Europe making painstaking preparations for the event. Meanwhile, the French and British authorities learn of his existence, and embark upon an all-out effort to establish his identity, locate him and arrest him before he can carry out his mission. Edward Fox, as the Jackal, is the soul of cool detachment, a professional's professional, uninterested in politics and approaching murder as a science. His personality is no more than sketched; he seems at times to be an extension of his own weapons, killing whenever necessary to cover his tracks. Michel Lonsdale gives an admirably understated performance as a crack British detective working frantically against time (and official secrecy) to unearth the Jackal's identity and whereabouts. Adrien Cayla-Legrand is the spitting image of de Gaulle. Delphine Seyrig is intelligent and believable as the Jackal's lover, though her motivations within the relationship are not clear. The script occasionally breaks out in a rash of cliches, but for the most part the dialogue is serviceable, and Fred Zinnemann's direction never lags. The plot is clever, and suspense is built up slowly but steadily to a shattering climax. What more could a thriller fan ask? Rated "PG".

• **SOYLENT GREEN** is a projection of the not-too-distant future, as fantasized by some of the freakier ecology freaks. The scene is Manhattan, the year 2022, the population 41 million. Masses of people sleep in doorways, stairways and huge communal rooms, and the lucky few are constantly tripping over these derelicts on the way to their jealously guarded private apartments. Women are part of the apartment "furniture" (whatever became of Women's Lib?). and suicide for the elderly is officially encouraged. Books are censored. Food is rationed out in artificial chips by an unnamed agency, and manufactured by a giant company that is conspiring to keep a terrible secret from the masses of people. The movie's entire premise is tailor-made to appeal to the already-considerable paranoia of the environmentalist movement. The wider popularity of the film is due to the caliber of its stars, and its conventional police-drama storyline. Charlton Heston portrays a cynical, semi-honest detective investigating the murder of a top company official. Edward G. Robinson, in his final performance, plays Heston's research assistant who remembers the "good old days" of the 1970's. His long, drawn-out death scene is disconcerting, because of Robinson's actual death a few months before the film's release. Leigh-Taylor Young is believable if superficial as the murdered man's "furniture" girl, fearful about a future over which she has no control. Chuck Conners is pure cardboard as a villain, Joseph Cotton sympathetic as the doomed executive. Considering that the events are supposed to take place fifty years from now, *SOYLENT GREEN* has very little "futuristic" feeling. The buildings, automobiles and trucks used as backdrop seem to reflect a present-day urban slum. Technical considerations apparently take a back seat to the Message. Rated "PG".

• Those of us who missed television's so-called "golden age" now have an opportunity to relive some if its brighter moments. A potpourri of comedy sketches from that era have been combined into a movie, **TEN FROM YOUR SHOW OF SHOWS**, in which Sid Caesar and Imogene Coca engage in the type of humor that is today being copied faithfully on the Carol Burnett Show. It's all there: the movie take-off (*FROM HERE TO OBSCURITY*, with Sid Caesar as Montgomery Bugle); a send-up of the television chestnut *THIS IS YOUR LIFE*, featuring Carl Reiner as the urbane, unflappable host and Caesar as the unwilling biographee; Imogene Coca in a silent film spoof, as a lovely but poor working girl exploited by an evil boss; Coca (again) as a fearful housewife breaking the news to her husband that she has just wrecked the family car. There are many other sketches, ranging from hilariously funny to mildly amusing. The skits were originally performed live, for the television as well as the studio audience, and what they lack in polish they more than make up for in spontaneity. The abominable laugh track is nowhere in evidence. Altogether, *TEN FROM YOUR SHOW OF SHOWS* makes for an enjoyable evening, and the film's success will probably spawn imitations. Which gives rise to a disquieting thought: Suppose old television shows start taking over the movies, as old movies have taken over television? Your neighborhood theater may get its revenge at last. Rated "G". ◻

CINQUAIN—THE DEMONSTRATION

Tension,
stiff as wasp wings,
floats on his composure.
A touch on the hand will destroy
him . . . . . thus.

Wendy McElroy

book review

Reviewed by George Pearson

HOW TO START YOUR OWN SCHOOL. By Robert D. Love. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1973. Pp. 172. $5.95.

Have you ever wondered why businessmen serving on boards of educational institutions function differently than they do as board chairmen or board members of profit seeking concerns? Or why the tolerance of deficits is so high in the education industry and so low elsewhere? Or why the world's largest industry, American education, is viewed so differently from the food industry, the clothing industry, and other basic industries? Robert Love, a successful businessman, developed an interest in his children's education and started asking these questions and a number of others.

First, he wondered about his children's loss of interest in school—they lost their initial enthusiasm and after a few years their attendance was reluctant. Also, he wondered why the teacher praised his fifth grade son's reading ability when the child could not read the front page of the newspaper. Then he wondered where he could find an educational experience better than the schooling that his children were receiving in public schools in Wichita, Kansas.

When Love came to believe that there was something better, he did not set out to reform the world. He did not even set out to reform the public schools of Wichita. Instead, he joined with other concerned parents in an attempt to make the most of the one chance that they had to participate in the education of their own children—they started their own school.

As the comment on the jacket suggests, Robert Love's book *HOW TO START YOUR OWN SCHOOL* is "A concrete example of how a group of concerned parents rescued their children from the evils of public education." The subtitle further describes the book as "a guide for the radical right, the radical left and everybody in-between who's fed up with public education."

ALTERNATIVE TO PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Now if you've gotten the idea that the book is one big slam on the public schools, then you've been misled. "This book *is not* a book for people who are looking for a detailed critique of public education." The author allows that "any parents with a child in public schools could write their own critique." The story of Collegiate School *is* for those looking for an alternative to public education and interested in the philosophy behind one such alternative. Wichita's Collegiate School, conceived in an atmosphere where public schools preceded private schools, is such an alternative and is successful.

Love's arguments are hard hitting and realistic. He has taken a cue from Townsend's book, *UP THE ORGANIZATION,* as he illustrates how unconventional approaches led to success. He also tells the readers about the mistakes the school made.

This educational approach is one that argues for parental involvement. Among other responsibilities the Collegiate parent is charged with "establishing a home atmosphere conducive to learning." Contrasted to the parental involvement called for by Love, "attending an occasional PTA meeting is an easy way out."

The school's wariness of certification and disinterest in accreditation are but two examples of the school's unorthodox stance. The parents see little advantage in accreditation when Collegiate students have been accepted in such schools as Goucher, Baylor, Oxford, Princeton, University of Denmark, Sewanee, as well as local colleges and universities, without it.

The headmaster, formerly head of a teachers' education department at a state university, knows that course requirements in educational methodology infringed upon time available for study and preparation in the teacher's major field. Therefore, he prefers to hire English majors to teach English, Math majors to teach Mathematics, etc.

BUSINESS LIMITED TO EDUCATION

The trustees decided that Collegiate would be in the *education* business, and not in the food business, the apartment business, the transportation business, or the entertainment business. If a student wants food service, he can contract directly with a caterer who provides a full food service with no requirement to Collegiate of capital or personnel. If the student wants bus service, he can have it by sharing the cost of operating a bus with other students who want it. If a boy wants to play football, he must pay $30 extra to pay for coaching and equipment.

Love sees the education industry as similar to his own industry, the manufacturing of corrugated boxes. They both require capital, and involve consumption and production. Of course, he recognizes the major difference—"The situation we were up against—and still face, for that matter—is one which any self-respecting businessman would go out of his way to avoid. We (Collegiate School) were entering a business field in which all potential customers were forced to buy a competitors' product, then throw it away unused if they decided to purchase ours."

Love also talks about budgets, pricing, chief executives, trustees and boards, grading, libraries, discipline and most every other aspect of the education industry.

The book is more than a history of events relating to Collegiate School. It is spiced with the author's personal involvement with the education of his own children and his commitment to do the best he could—an involvement and commitment that eventually ended long standing friendships and even precipitated differences among relatives.

Finally, Love does not think that his experience is extraordinary, but merely "the result of people wanting to control their own lives and willing to take the risks and accept the responsibilities."

An educator could not have written this book. It could only have been written by someone with a combination of inside experience in business and a strong commitment to a free market. The book offers the application of free market principles and not the rhetoric of "accountability" and other pretenses. It contains valuable insights for anyone favoring alternative institutions, whether or not educational. ◻

George Pearson has authored various pieces concerning education, including "The Case Against Education Vouchers," which appeared in REASON's Education issue, April-May 1971.

trends

DRUG REGULATIONS: COST VERSUS BENEFIT

Recently the Food and Drug Administration came under one of the sharpest public attacks in recent years. The attack came in Milton Friedman's *NEWSWEEK* column, in which the eminent economist suggested that the costs imposed on consumers by the 1962 new-drug regulations far outweigh the potential benefits. Friedman even went so far as to suggest that perhaps the FDA itself should be abolished, on similar grounds. The source of Friedman's conclusions was a brilliant research effort carried out by UCLA economist Sam Peltzman (see "Working Within the System: An Interview with Sam Peltzman," *REASON* June/July 1972). Peltzman's method and findings are set forth below.

The 1962 Amendments to the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act conferred on the FDA new powers to regulate the ethical drug industry. The basic changes which resulted from the Amendments are that: (1) Drugs must not only be proven harmless, but additionally they must be proven effective in a manner established by the FDA, and (2) Although prior to 1962 a new drug application was automatically approved if not denied by the FDA within 180 days, there is no longer any such time limit on FDA action on application. It would be natural to expect that the Amendments and the ensuing regulations would *diminish* the number of new drugs entering the market and *delay* the introduction of those drugs which do enter the market. What Peltzman set out to do—and what he did rather admirably—was to estimate not only the magnitude and direction of these effects on drug flow and timing but also the value of benefits and costs associated with these effects.

In order to measure the effects of the newer regulation on the flow of drugs to the market, Peltzman constructed an economic model of drug development. Data prior to 1962 were used to estimate model parameters, and the model correctly "predicted" the major changes in drug innovation in the pre-Amendment period. But when Peltzman used the same model to predict innovation in the post-Amendment period, he found a persistent "deficit" between the predicted and actual flow of new drugs. (He was careful to distinguish between new chemical entities and other new drugs, for example those which represented merely recombinations or forms of previously available drugs.) Peltzman attributed this difference to the existence of the regulations. He further cited evidence which suggests that the Amendments have added *at least two years* to development time for new drugs.

The *gains* from the stiffer regulation arise primarily from the reduction in the number of ineffective drugs and elimination of some drugs which would otherwise have caused major harm to users. Against these gains, one must compare the *losses* arising from implementation of the Amendments: *elimination* of some effective drugs, because of the higher cost of development and approval; *delay* in the introduction of major drug innovations; *higher drug prices* owing to reduced competition (fewer drug treatment alternatives); and *more costly* (hence less) *drug information* supplied to potential users.

Assigning to each of these a dollar measure is a technically difficult task, and Peltzman admits that margins of error are necessarily large in this sort of undertaking. Rather gamely, he consistently gives the FDA the benefit of the doubt; still, his conclusion is that **the losses to consumers from the regulation vastly outweigh the gains.** *Exclusive* of the gains and losses associated with fewer expected major drug disasters and delays in the introduction of important innovations, the *net loss* to consumers from the Amendments is on the order of $250-500 million annually, or five to ten percent of annual drug purchases. Including these added safety benefits and delayed innovation costs would further increase the probable consumer loss, although Peltzman refrains from citing a specific annual dollar amount owing to the uncertainty of predicting these relatively rare phenomena. He does show that a "typical" innovation (e.g., streptomycin in the treatment of TB) whose delay would cost around one *billion* dollars is at least as likely as the realization of a $100 million benefit from preventing a "typical" drug disaster (e.g., Thalidomide) through two years of additional FDA-mandated testing.

The technical excellence of Peltzman's paper is such that the FDA is unlikely to rebut it with an equally good evaluation showing net benefits attributable to the Amendments. Rather, a more likely defense will be to reject the underlying premises—such as the relevance of consumer sovereignty in judging drug effectiveness—or to divert attentions by offering anecdotes about FDA "successes" and the need for a *bigger* budget.

SOURCES:
- "Frustrating Drug Advancement," Milton Friedman, *NEWSWEEK,* 8 January 1973.
- "The Benefits and Costs of New Drug Regulation," Sam Peltzman, 1972, Center for Policy Study, University of Chicago, summarized by Tim O. Ozenne.

A NEW GOLD STANDARD?

According to financial expert Dr. Harry Schultz, developments are rapidly moving toward establishment of a new international monetary order, *based on gold.* In February, Rene Larre, manager of the Bank of International Settlements (Europe's "bank for banks," the "Supreme Court for money") told *VISION* magazine that to be credible, a new monetary system will require a continued role for gold. However, it is impossible to restore even partial convertibility at an arbitrary price, nor can the world wait 5 to 10 years for the U.S. to raise the price sufficiently. A better method, Larre said, would be for central banks simply to trade in gold *at the going market price.* "Whatever we do, we can't reform the monetary system without dealing with gold . . . ." he stated. From this Schultz concluded that "Europe *won't let* the U.S. dethrone gold and it means gold will not, on future dips, fall *far* . . . EEC's new monetary fund will define its unit-of-account as 0.88867088 of fine gold. Make no mistake, Europe is *opting out* of the dollar and into gold."

In another development, Schultz reported that the Arab nations are exploring the possibility of issuing their own international currency, to be known as the *dinar,* backed fully by gold. The idea is to avoid the kind of losses they have suffered in recent dollar devaluations. The U.S. would then have to pay for Arab oil

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in gold-backed dinars rather than dollars.

The moral of all this should be clear: despite the government's anti-gold propaganda, the yellow metal will continue to play a major role in international monetary affairs.

SOURCES:

- *THE INTERNATIONAL HARRY SCHULTZ LETTER*, Numbers 292 (8 February 1973) and 296 (30 April 1973), quoted by permission.

LIMITING GOVERNMENT SPENDING

According to the latest report from the Tax Foundation, Inc., the total tax burden on each of the nation's households will increase an average of $341, to a total of $5,070, in fiscal 1973. Overall, American taxpayers will pay $339 billion in taxes in 1973, with $125 billion of the total going toward state and local taxes. The rate of increase of state and local taxes is about 9% per year.

Against this background of seemingly uncontrolled growth, California governor Ronald Reagan has proposed a major program to *reduce* the size of state government, by limiting its power to tax. Reagan's plan, prepared by a prestigious group of economists and consultants, would place a progressively lower ceiling on state tax collections over the next 15 years. The plan, which requires a constitutional amendment, begins with the fact that all forms of California taxes now take 8.75% of Californians' personal incomes. Over the next 15 years, this percentage would be mandated to decrease 0.1% each year, to a bit over 7%. Thus, given this constitutional ceiling, the legislature would have to set priorities and make trade-offs among programs, rather than continuously thinking up new spending schemes and raising taxes to pay for them.

The plan was developed by a task force of economists and political scientists. A group including Prof. Craig Stubblebine of Claremont Men's College and several UCLA economists examined various issues dealing with the current high level of taxation and spending. The factors motivating government spending were then addressed by a task force of economists from Virginia Polytechnic Institute, directed by James M. Buchanan. And a group of six task forces, drawn from UCLA, U.C. Berkeley, U.C. San Diego, and Cal State Hayward looked at alternative ways of reducing government spending, finally concluding that limiting government *revenue* was the best way to limit *spending*.

The plan has already sparked heated controversy in California, where Reagan is leading a petition drive to get it placed on the ballot. Although endorsed by such scholars as economist Milton Friedman, urbanologist Martin Anderson, and management consultant Peter F. Drucker, the plan is strongly opposed by free-spending politicians and professional bureaucrats. Reagan himself sees the plan as a prototype for adoption at the federal level. Indeed, since federal spending has increased *130%* since 1964, some sort of limiting mechanism is urgently needed.

SOURCES:

- "$341 Increase Expected in Average Tax Burden," Associated Press (New York), 16 April 1973.
- "Reagan Seeks to Lower Taxes Annually Over 15-Year Period," Robert Fairbanks, *LOS ANGELES TIMES*, 9 February 1973.
- "Revenue Limitation Proposal for U.S. Suggested by Reagan," Tom Goff, *LOS ANGELES TIMES*, 14 February 1973.

(continued on p. 32)

editorial:
The Problem of Utopianism

Throughout the history of political thought men and women have proposed ideal solutions to the problems of community life. Many of these are utopian either in fact, or both in fact and intention.

The consequences of such theorizing have been disasterous, sometimes, and misleading most often. Why?

A utopia is an impossible conception of a human community—but one which if not realizable is said to offer at least the guidelines toward improvement. This is why such views are called ideals or idealistic: they are accepted as beyond the realm of reality. (Our use of the term "ideal" reflects this point in many contexts, especially when we call a naive person idealistic.) The origin of utopianism and the corresponding sense of idealism is Plato's theory of knowledge and his political ideal, the republic. Plato believed that to know something for certain is to know it as it exists in a world different from ours, one that our world can only approximate, never truly reflect. His political philosophy makes reference to the ideal state which is equally unattainable. Yet, the virtues of such a state, just as the virtue of achieving knowledge of Plato's kind of truths, are accepted by him—if only as guiding principles—never to be achieved, but always to be approximated.

As with Plato's theory of knowledge, so with his political philosophy, there are many interpretations of it. But the most popular view about them is that they are good models to follow. (Some even argue that Plato was aware that his political state could not be implemented on earth. Yet he did want people to strive to get as close to it as possible.)

Now the most important error with utopianism can be seen right here: the view that ideals, though impossible to achieve, can be good *guiding principles.* In fact they *cannot* be. Once a guiding principle removes man's mind, and therefore his plans of action, from reality, the substance of man's plans will be unrealistic. One need only think of the "ideals" that have governed Marxist governments, Nazi states, or even our kind of welfare statism, in order to see the consequences of such thinking. Goals are designed with some admitted but supposedly glorious unreality in mind, only to lead to the most real horrors and vices in the process. Sure, in some kind of world a pure race of glorious beasts might be nice to have around. Sure, at some unspecified time when some new kind of human beings populate the world, it might be nice to have everyone do the right thing automatically. And certainly, in some sort of society, although not a human one, the wealth ought to be evenly distributed—as well as beauty, good manners, happiness, and everything we all must work for these days on our own. But that tells us little of what will produce the best life *for us,* in this kind of world, with human nature as we know it. So the ideals pursued with "good intention" lead the pursuers to make a bigger mess of things then existed when the pursuit began.

Having failed at getting things improved by such hopeless means, many turn around and embrace a cynical pessimism, or "realism", one that denies any possibility of improvement, even the kind that is open to us. So people move from hopeless idealism to crass pragmatism. And once again the conditions of man are unimproved.

The libertarian political philosophy rejects the notion that ideals must be unattainable, that perfect solutions must lie outside the realm of the possible. For the libertarian realizes that *ideals are meaningful and pursuable only if they are based on knowledge of the real, of what is the case,* and that *such ideals that accord with this analysis can be achieved and should be.* The realistic guidelines which emerge from such devotion to facts can, then, be followed up and improvements can be made—though never guaranteed.

Nor does the sensible person believe that we need any utopias to guide our political aspirations. We need to recognize that each person has his own level of perfection that he is morally responsible to achieve—and if he does not, he will suffer the consequences right here; if such failure impinges on another's efforts to succeed to the best of his ability, then this will have to be guarded against—which is why the libertarian sees the function of law as the maximum assurance against the violation of the freedom of the individual.

This is not utopianism because this does not guarantee against failure, it does not insure perfect happiness, it does not promise heaven on earth. Politics, for the libertarian, has the minimal function to secure for each person his liberty to make the most of his life—recognizing that he might not do so. And against that there is no insurance.

Tibor R. Machan

(continued from p. 31)

RENT CONTROL AS POOR RELIEF

There is a fairly extensive movement afoot to impose rent controls, on either a national or local level. Radical-liberal coalitions have already voted measures in at Berkeley and Cambridge, with the predictable consequences to property values. Massachusetts has a state-wide enabling act and several other communities have used it to adopt controls. There are currently bills in the state legislatures of New Jersey and Maryland to impose similar controls in those states. The Economic Stabilization Act recently passed by the Senate calls for compulsory rent controls whenever local occupancy rates go below 5.5%. All in all, one gets the impression that rent control is an idea whose time has come.

An interesting assumption behind the popular appeal of rent control is that the poor tenant is being taken advantage of by the rich landlord. One wonders how the program would be received if the public saw the issue as one in which prosperous *tenants* were using their political muscle to extract cheap rents from impoverished elderly landlords.

The interesting thing about this speculation is that it has some basis in fact. While there seem to be no data published for current conditions, there are two studies dealing with rent controls of the 1949-50 period. In the first, University

of Chicago Professor E. Gale Johnson concluded:

> I do not want to argue that the evidence indicates that landlords are poorer than tenants. But the data certainly do not prove the contrary . . . . [Rent control] has, in my opinion, no justification except the political one that there are more tenants than landlords.

In the second, Dr. Willys Knight found that the median income of tenants was actually *greater* than that of landlords in a Lansing, Michigan, study. He also observed that if you excluded the income from outside employment, those landlords dependent upon rental income constituted one of the poorest groups in the city.

This disparity is largely explained by the factor of age. Knight found that 57% of the landlords in his study were 56 years of age or older, with 28.9% of them 66 or older. By contrast, only 16.6% of the tenants were 56 or older, while 68.1% were aged 45 or less. The tenants, as a group, were of an age group which could have one or two wage earners per family, while many of the landlords were too old for regular employment and were dependent upon rental income to flesh out pensions or savings.

— *Davis E. Keeler,* Institute for Humane Studies

SOURCES:

- "Rent Control and the Distribution of Income," E. Gale Johnson, *AMERICAN ECONOMIC REVIEW,* May 1951, p. 569.
- "Postwar Rent Control Controversy," Willys Knight, Research Paper No. 23, School of Business, Georgia State College, Atlanta, 1962.

FREEDOM TO BE DIFFERENT

A prominent legal expert has joined the ranks of Thomas Szasz, Nathaniel Branden, and others urging the abolition of involuntary confinement for those considered mentally ill. Thomas Shaffer, dean of the University of Notre Dame Law School, said in an address to the American Health Congress that the doors of mental institutions should be unlocked, so that anyone who wants to can leave. Shaffer argued that if those who leave have to be locked up, they should be in jail and not in a hospital. "It is surely not the business of healing to operate jails," he said.

Shaffer's position stems from a strong commitment to individual rights, including the right to be different—even bizarre—so long as no coercion of others is involved. "One might wonder," he noted, "why bizarre people should be locked up when the more devious and more dangerous among us are not locked up." He pointed out that "Almost none of these so-called mental patients is dangerous; the arrest rate among former mental patients is about half that of the general population." Shaffer also pointed out the lack of due process involved in most commitments to mental institutions.

What alternative is there to involuntary confinement? Dean Shaffer suggested "that mental health services be put on the same basis as dental health, a free-enterprise system in which those who want the service seek it voluntarily."

SOURCE:

- "Free Mental Patients, Law Dean Proposes," Associated Press (Chicago), 11 August 1972.

VOUCHER SYSTEM TRIAL RUN

One promising proposal for phasing out the public school monopoly is Milton Friedman's voucher system (see "The Case for Education Vouchers," *REASON,* April-May 1971). Under this plan, a state or city would turn over all school tax monies to parents, in the form of vouchers cashable at *any* school, public or private. The idea is to put private schools on an equal footing with public schools, restoring competition in the education marketplace.

California has initiated limited testing of a watered-down version of this plan, but now New Hampshire appears ready to give the "pure" Friedman version a large-scale test. The state will shortly receive a $100,000 federal grant to plan a two-year *statewide* test of the plan. If given the go-ahead, another $5 million in federal funds would be received for administrative costs of the two-year demonstration. While the voucher system will not put public schools out of business overnight, the results of the New Hampshire experiment should prove to be interesting.

SOURCE:

- *NATIONAL REVIEW,* 11 May 1973, p. 502.
- For background, see "The Voucher System," Yale Brozen & Roman L. Weil, American Conservative Union, 1971 (available for $1.00 from ACU, 422 First St., SE, Washington, DC 20003.)

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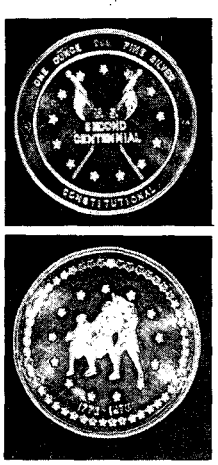

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publisher's notes

• **NEW POETRY DEPARTMENT:** We are pleased to announce the appointment of Wendy McElroy as *REASON's* new poetry editor. Ms. McElroy, who is pursuing a career as a poet and literary theorist, also co-edits *THE CASTILIAN* with Jeff Riggenbach. *THE CASTILIAN* is a literary quarterly featuring such writers as Ray Bradbury, the Pulitzer Prize-winning Anne Sexton, as well as work by the two editors. Subscriptions to the quarterly are available at $5 a year from P.O. Box 75182, Los Angeles, CA 90075.

Ms. McElroy's work has appeared in past issues of *REASON* and has been the most popular poetry we have published. Assisting Ms. McElroy as Associate Poetry Editor is Clarica Scott, manager of Rimstar Publication Services, whose poetry has also appeared in *REASON.*

• **TO THE MEMORY OF A RESPECTED FRIEND:** Libertarians throughout the world were saddened to learn of the unexpected death of Dr. F. A. Harper on April 21. Baldy Harper was a respected and tireless advocate in the cause of freedom. His efforts in establishing the Institute for Humane Studies and in participating in the significant research and educational work of I.H.S. were prime contributions to the furtherance of human liberty. Baldy was selected as a *REASON PROFILE* in our January 1973 issue. His sudden death from a heart attack is a tragic loss to all of us.

Following Baldy's death, the I.H.S. Board of Directors determined "to continue the work of the Institute in the spirit Baldy founded it." The Board elected Charles G. Koch as president, with K. S. Templeton, Jr., vice-president and secretary/treasurer, and George H. Pearson, vice-president. To further the purposes of the Institute, the Board has established the Floyd Arthur Harper Memorial Fund. Contributions to the Fund may be sent to the Institute at 1134 Crane Street, Menlo Park CA 94025.

• **ARTICLES WANTED:** The editors of *REASON* are seeking articles on the following topics:
(1) The commercial feasibility of space exploration: to what extent are various sorts of space-program activities (communications satellites, multispectral scanning, manned space stations, moon landings, etc.) worth their cost? We are seeking someone with appropriate technical and economic background to prepare such an analysis, in the context of critically examining NASA's role in spending taxpayers' money. Hopefully, the article would include a plan for phasing out NASA and transferring its viable functions (if any) to the marketplace.
(2) An analysis of health-care delivery as a large-scale business activity. Prepaid, group-practice medical care, along the lines of California's private Kaiser-Permanente system, has been advocated by many as the salvation of private-enterprise medicine, but opposed by others (under the HMO label) as destructive. Leaving aside the issue of government HMO subsidies, what are the pros and cons of prepaid group practice as a *business* enterprise? Would widespread formation of HMOs increase or decrease the likelihood of socialized medicine in America?
(3) A defense of corporate success. Recently IBM, Xerox, and Kodak have come under intensive antitrust attack. Each firm dominates its industry, apparently because of demonstrated innovation and competence. The editors seek an analysis of any (or all) of these cases by someone knowledgeable in each firm's product area, examining the firm's history and achievements, and discussing both the substance of the attacks on each, and the apparent motivations of the attackers.

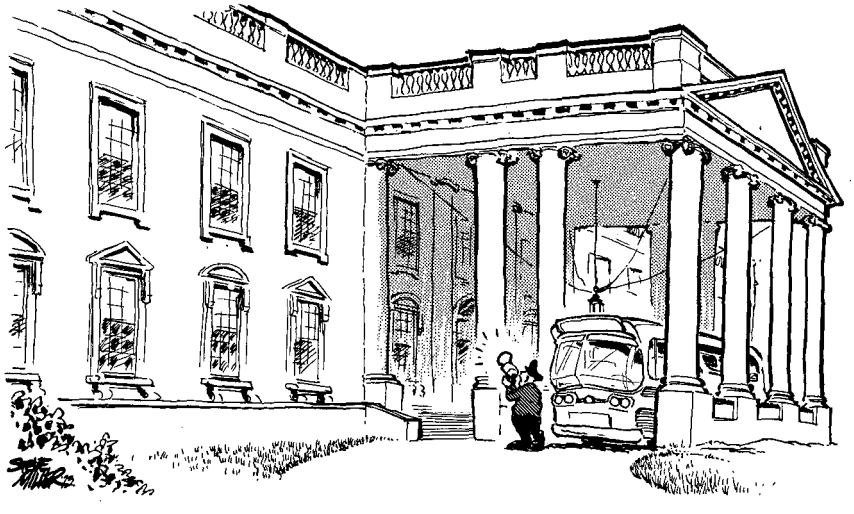
Prospective authors should write first for an Author Information Sheet for details on format, submission, and remuneration.

• **MACHAN SPEAKS IN INDIANA:** Associate Editor Tibor Machan delivered four lectures in Indianapolis during March. Speaking to the Indiana University/Purdue University chapter of the Academic Society of Individualists, Dr. Machan spoke on "Altruist Morality vs. Individual Rights in America," and "The Powell Memorandum and the Peril of the Free Market in America." Speaking to the I.U./P.U. Philosophy Club, Machan talked on "A Libertarian View of Human Rights" and "An Introduction to Objectivism for Philosophy Students."

• **GOLD INVESTMENTS 1973** was the name of a seminar held on 1 April in Chicago. Over 200 people attended the seminar, which was co-sponsored by the Libertarian Party of Illinois and the two featured speakers, Walter R. Perschke (a gold coin expert) and Donald J. Hoppe (author of books on gold coins and gold stocks). The speakers were quite pessimistic about the future of the domestic and foreign economy, and offered timely advice on gold as a means of self-protection. The Libertarian Party sold and distributed large quantities of literature, to the mostly nonlibertarian audience in attendance.

• **ILS CONFERENCE:** The Institute for Libertarian Studies held its annual Southern Seminar Conference April 21, at the Ramada Inn in Irving, Texas, a suburb of Dallas. A thought-provoking seminar on education in libertarianism, the conference drew approximately 130

"Now leaving, for the federal prosecutor's office . . ."



COMPULSORY EDUCATION

Compulsory education has come under increasing fire from the "educational establishment" as well as the critics on the "fringe." Disciplinary problems–what to do with the uncontrollable students–is no doubt the reason for groups such as NEA to question the compulsory attendance laws. Those critics outside of the education establishment have numerous and various reasons for their attacks. The Center for Independent Education offers the following publications on this subject:

Arons, Stephen, "Compulsory Education–The Plain People Resist." *The Saturday Review,* 15 January 1972, pp. 52-57. (10¢)

Stephen Arons, a practicing attorney, considers the Supreme Court case of Wisconsin v. Yoder. Admittedly the legal question is the quite narrow one of religious freedom. Mr. Arons claims that the case, despite the narrowness of the legal decision, does call into question the entire rationale for compulsory schooling.

It State-compelled attendance is to be conceded, the State must justify its infringement of First Amendment Rights. Mr. Arons, in pointing to the contests which arise between the State and the parent, quotes John Stuart Mill:

> A general state education is a mere contrivance for molding people to be exactly like one another; and as the mold in which it casts them is that which pleases the predominant power in the government–whether this be a monarch, a priesthood, an aristocracy, or the majority of the existing generation–in proportion as it is efficient and successful, it establishes a despotism over the mind, leading by natural tendency to one over the body.

West, E. G. "The Political Economy of American Public School Legislation." *The Journal of Law and Economics 10* (1967): 101-128. (25¢)

Professor West gives an account of the dual consideration of compulsory payment and compulsory consumption legislation as it evolved in New York during the nineteenth century.

Dr. West points out that, until the free school campaign got underway in 1840, it seems to have been readily acknowledged that education could continue to be universal without being free and without compulsion. (For documentation, West cites the Superintendent's reports of the 1830's, particularly the 1836 report). In 1866, the year before the abolition of the rate bills (fees to the parents who were required to pay in proportion to the attendance of their children) in New York, education continued to be almost universal, although not yet compulsory.

West maintains that "the final link in the process of monopolizing education" occurred in New York with the passage of the Compulsory Education Act in 1874.

Rothbard, Murray N. *Education, Free and Compulsory.* Wichita, Kansas: Center for Independent Education, 1972. ($1.00)

In this essay, Dr. Rothbard surveys the history of compulsory education in Europe and America and traces the influence of European educators on the development of education in America.

He points out that education has historically been a tool of either religion or the state. When religious leaders have been in control of education, education has adopted the goal of molding "good men." When the state has controlled education without religious influence, molding "obedient citizens" has been its goal. The author contends that in either case the individual's growth and development are denied.

Rothbard asserts that the "key issue is simply this: shall the parent or the state be the overseer of the child? . . . There is no middle ground in this issue. The one or the other must exercise ultimate control, and no third party with authority to seize the child and rear it has ever been found."

Professor Rothbard also discusses the importance of realizing the unique and individual character of the learner. "The lack of equality–in tastes, ability and character–is not necessarily an invidious distinction, it simply reflects the scope of human diversity. Enthusiasm for equality should actually be viewed as anti-human. It tends to repress the flowering of individual personality and diversity, and indeed, of civilization itself . . ."

Compulsory Education Bibliography. Center for Independent Education. (10¢)

This brief bibliography is not intended to annotate all criticism of compulsory education. It sees criticisms as taking two forms, a proliferation of attacks on the effects of compulsory education and a few challenges on the concept itself. The latter is our concern here.

As a third in a series of topical bibliographies, the Center offers a review of a few substantive articles about compulsory education.

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The Testimonial Dinner honoring Murray Rothbard on the publication of his latest book, FOR A NEW LIBERTY, took place in New York City on April 28. Set up by Robert D. Kephart (libertarian publisher of HUMAN EVENTS and founder of BOOKS FOR LIBERTARIANS), the dinner drew over 125 people, including many of the most prominent figures in the libertarian movement. Pictured at left is James Dale Davidson (Executive Director of NATIONAL TAXPAYERS UNION) presenting Dr. Rothbard with one of five bound volumes of LIBERTY magazine, published by anarcho-capitalist Benjamin Tucker from 1881 through 1908.

people with representation from a number of states and the major cities in Texas. Among the speakers addressing the conference were prominent scholars Dr. W. H. Hutt and Dr. John Hospers.

• **IMPORT QUOTAS PAMPHLET:** With the proposed Hartke-Burke bill threatening to set off a new wave of protectionism, the time is ripe for educating the public about the merits of free trade. An excellent free pamphlet on this subject, titled "Consumers Beware of Import Restrictions!" is available from the Consumer Education Council on World Trade, Suite 305, 1629 K Street, NW, Washington, DC 20006. The pamphlet points out that *current* import restrictions cost the average consumer between $200 and $300 each year, explains the basic advantages of free trade, and points out the dangers of a return to protectionism. CECWT is a joint venture of a number of organizations, including Consumers Union, the American Association of University Women, the YWCA, the National Council of Negro Women, and the National Council of Churches.

• **CANADIAN SUBSCRIBERS** should be advised that the Canadian postal monopoly is serious about the use of the postal zone code on second class mail. They have recently begun sending back to *REASON* as "undeliverable" copies of the magazine whose address labels did not include the code. Please let us know your postal zone code, to ensure delivery of *REASON.*

• **COMING NEXT MONTH:** *REASON's* August issue will include a thoughtful analysis of the views of the prominent psychiatrist, Thomas Szasz, authored by M. L. Zupan. Also scheduled for next month is John Zeigler's bold new proposal to cut taxes, entitled the "Pay-What-You-Want Tax Plan." Zeigler is Executive Director of *SPEAK OUT!* and is publishing this innovative plan in *REASON* on behalf of *SPEAK OUT!*

You can be assured of receiving the August issue by becoming a *REASON* subscriber. If you haven't yet entered your subscription to the most widely read libertarian publication in America, act now! To receive the next twelve issues of *REASON* send your check for $9 *today* to *REASON,* P.O. Box 6151, Santa Barbara, CA 93111. ◻

reason profile

Few tax resistance cases have attracted as much publicity as the recent trial of the "San Diego Ten," indicted for conspiring to prevent IRS seizure of a moving and storage firm. Both *TIME* magazine and Nicholas Van Hoffman's nationally-syndicated column gave extensive coverage to the case and particularly to defendant Henry J. Hohenstein, *REASON's* Financial Consultant and outspoken critic of the IRS, who used the publicity as a forum for bringing libertarian ideas to public attention.

Until a few years ago, Mr. Hohenstein, now 42 years old, led a perfectly Establishment-style life. He received his B.S. degree from Rutgers University in 1953, got married a few months later and then joined the Marine Corps, in which he currently holds the rank of Major in the reserves. He and his wife Arline (an R.N. doing special work in school nurse teaching, especially of the mentally handicapped) have five children. Mr. Hohenstein began his professional career in pharmaceuticals, first as a detailman and later as President and then Director of Administrative Services for small pharmaceutical companies. He was active in Rotary and held administrative positions in several civic and charitable organizations.

Mr. Hohenstein currently is with Creative Equity Corporation where he handles real estate syndications, and he has an outside brokerage arrangement with Secure Monetary Systems for the brokerage of precious metals. He is currently writing a book *THE IRS CONSPIRACY* (to be published by Nash Publishing next year), and is a published poet.

About his transition from the Silent Majority to libertarian activism Mr. Hohenstein says: "There are vast numbers of implicit libertarians in our society who have reached middle age, but because of prior association with church, family, society and employment are restrained in their expression of their libertarian ideas. The barrier between apathy, cynicism and self-doubt on one side, and self fulfillment and happiness is, very simply, fear. The transition period is uncertain and difficult, but having achieved a fuller expression and re-evaluation of one's values, life does proceed more smoothly. Most importantly those people who can be truly classified as friend take great pleasure in seeing what has happened and what one has become."

HENRY J. HOHENSTEIN

Lynn Kinsky

COMMITTEE FOR THE

ANTI-INFLATION AMENDMENT

To the Constitution of the United States

1. HARD CURRENCY MANDATE

After considerable research by economists, many people have come to the conclusion that economic problems—inflation, unemployment, depressions (and obviously the taxes to cure them all)—are **caused** by the Federal government, as it mismanages the money of the United States. The money supply fluctuates: when it expands too fast, we get inflation; when it slows down, we get unemployment. Americans are forbidden to own gold, and the balance of payments is overdrawn because of depreciating money. We the People can end all of that by passing a law to discipline our government:

> Section 1: IT SHALL BE THE POLICY OF THE TREASURY OF THE UNITED STATES TO STABILIZE THE SUPPLY OF CASH NOTES AND FEDERAL CREDIT IN CIRCULATION, AND THEREBY TO PRESERVE AND INCREASE THE PURCHASING POWER OF THE CURRENCY OF THE UNITED STATES.

This policy could be accomplished even without the Amendment in a number of ways, but confusion about controlling interest rates, as opposed to the quantity of money, has led us into inflation. The precise way chosen to achieve this policy (the issue is very complex) would be up to the Congress, the President, and the Federal Reserve System. Among the ways would be either using the commodity price of gold, or any group of commodities, as a base price, or by fixing the quantity of money, or the rate of monetary expansion, by law.

IT IS TIME TO FOCUS PUBLIC ATTENTION ON THE ECONOMIC ISSUES.

2. WAGE AND PRICE CONTROLS UNCONSTITUTIONAL

We should now be able to get rid of those unfair and unwise wage price controls. Everybody—Democrats and Republicans alike—all want to get rid of wage and price controls "as soon as possible." The time is **right now!** The controls were never needed, and the Anti-Inflation Amendment will prevent the need for controls in the future.

> Section 2: CONGRESS SHALL MAKE NO LAW RESTRICTING THE FREEDOM OF WAGES AND PRICES. THE RIGHT OF CITIZENS TO MAKE CONTRACTS AND TO TRADE FREELY AMONG THEMSELVES SHALL NOT BE ABRIDGED.

This idea has been suggested by George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO, and by George McGovern during his election campaign. Richard Nixon supported this principle until 1971, and may someday support it again. In addition to this general statement, we propose the following specific definition of economic freedom as an important addition to the constitution of the United States:

IF YOU SUPPORT THIS PROPOSAL, SEND YOUR NAME TO THE COMMITTEE.

3. CARTEL MONOPOLY PRICES FORBIDDEN

The government not only causes inflation and economic depressions, it sometimes makes things worse by price controls in favor of certain vested interests, and cheats the consumers because **competition** is against the law. We need competition in our free economy to make the system work.

> Section 3: THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES, OR OF ANY STATE, SHALL NOT, THROUGH ANY LAW OR ADMINISTRATIVE ACTION, PREVENT OR FORBID ANY PERSON OR CORPORATION FROM OFFERING FOR LEGITIMATE SALE OR FROM LOWERING THE SALE PRICE OF WHATEVER GOODS OR SERVICES MAY BE COMMERCIALLY TRADED.

This idea was first suggested by Milton Friedman. All it says is that consumers deserve the lowest prices possible, and the government should not obstruct competition in any way.

FOR INFORMATION WRITE TO THE COMMITTEE, BOX 4691, CHICAGO 60680

letters

LIBERTARIAN COUNTRY

The Minerva project [*REASON,* December 1972] prompts me to make a suggestion. If a few thousand libertarians would like to have their very own country, they could go to the Republic of Nauru (population 6,000) in the South Pacific, and out-vote the natives there. Presumably, the libertarians could land as tourists or as wetbacks. A more feasible project might be to take over Vatican City, an independent country of only 1,000 people. The Israelis made a nation for themselves, so presumably libertarians could do it, too, except for those awful words, The Initiation of Force. If libertarians would like to begin by moving into some lightly populated county, and take over a county government, it would be easy enough. For starters, the following counties merit consideration since a very few libertarians could take them over: Loving County, Texas, population 164; Hinsdale County, Colorado, pop. 202; King County, Texas, pop. 464; and of course Alpine County, California, pop. 484. From the size of the population of Loving County, Texas, I would assume not much loving goes on there.

Mark Terry
Chicago, Ill.

MAFIA JUSTICE

Some folks have carried their principles to the logical extreme of advocating "free-market justice." [Rothbard, "Free-Market Police, Courts, and Law, *REASON,* March 1973.] Such justice would be dished out by something called a "private defense agency," possibly with the help of an arbitration agency.

Speakin for da Chicaga Mafia, we shall be glad to act as a private defense agency. We find that one man can quickly act as judge, jury, cop, and executioner. This considerably cheapens (makes less expensive) justice, and eliminates all dem appeals. This is justice guaranteed to please. To please the *client,* that is. Of course, we wouldn't do nuttin wrong, since we gotta protect our reputation—we at da Mafia know dat we gotta watch our reputation, or we'd lose customers and couldn't make a profit. So we at da Mafia never do nuttin wrong, becuz it goes against da principles of a free market, and is against good sound business. But supposing we do something wrong—*laissez faire* we always say, and that is a sacred principle. *Laissez faire* is a principle as sacred as any sacred cow.

To be a private defense agency, we at da Mafia don't need to wait for the disappearance of the government. Of course, in the absence of a government, we'd be the closest thing to government around—we'd have to exercise governmental functions by default, as it were.

Name and address withheld

COMPETITION THEORY

Dr. Ozenne in his review of my book, *THE MYTHS OF ANTITRUST* [*REASON,* May 1973], admonishes me for not presenting, explicitly, a "new" or "correct" theory of competition to replace the classical theory that I criticize so harshly. I would like to make two points in response. One, I do suggest explicitly that a competitive market for me is a market *open to competition,* and that economists waste their time trying to cardinally measure "degrees" of competition. It is *not* competition that we are primarily interested in any way (we could, for example, create "more" competition by raising prices by law, or subsidize weaker firms so that they could better "compete") but rather with the openness of markets (see pp. 277-278).

Secondly, I do state explicitly that business competition "is a process where firms of various sizes attempt to produce and sell various kinds of products and services, expand markets, lower prices if possible, patent inventions, introduce innovations, improve consumer services, and generally attempt to improve consumer satisfaction in a search for greater profits" (p. 48). If Dr. Ozenne has any notion of what a "new" or "correct" theory of competition would be *apart from what I have stated explicitly,* let him come forth with it in print and expose it to critical debate. I would especially be interested in how, apparently, he would salvage the classical models.

Dr. D. T. Armentano
Associate Professor of Economics
University of Hartford
Hartford, Conn.

HOSPERS' NOMINATIONS

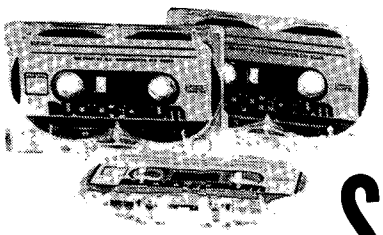
I have enjoyed your movie reviews, am glad that Charles Barr is doing them, and think that they should continue. Nevertheless, allow me to express my dissent from one (among many) of your reviewer's judgments. To say that *Butterflies Are Free* is the best movie of 1972, is to give too much credit to a mildly well-done but distinctly vanilla-flavored little production, in no way outstanding for treatment or theme, taken without much change from a rather talky stageplay. Though 1972 was a bad year for movies, there were several dozen that were much better from practically any point of view.

Best of the best was surely *The Emigrants.* Why it was left for the Swedes to achieve what Americans should have done long before, a picture celebrating the pioneer spirit that created America, is hard to see, but in any event the Swedes have magnificently achieved it. The sense of life of this picture, unlike most American pictures today, is positive and heroic; the total effect immensely moving and ennobling.

That the ennobling effect occurs in the context of a deeply religious view of existence will cause many viewers, especially of objectivist orientation, to be against it for that reason. This, it seems to me, is another example of the same mistake that has led them to ignore the most inspired masterpieces of music, such as Bach's *B MINOR MASS* and *ST. MATTHEW PASSION,* Handel's *SAUL* and *MESSIAH,* and the *REQUIEMS* of Verdi, Berlioz, Faure, and Durufle, and to revere instead assorted nineteenth-century works (especially of Rachmaninoff and Tschaikovsky) which, though well constructed and eminently listenable (and whistlable), are as water unto wine compared with the works of towering eminence I have mentioned. "If it's religious it can't be any good," they say, though many of the highest pinnacles of musical art (and the other arts too) have been religious in both inspiration and content. . . .

The most stunning pro-libertarian film of the year was surely the Peruvian *THE GREEN WALL,* a telling and suspenseful indictment of government bureaucracy. But this masterly piece of film-making went unmentioned both by the Academy and by libertarians.

John Hospers
Director, School of Philosophy
University of Southern California



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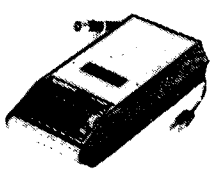

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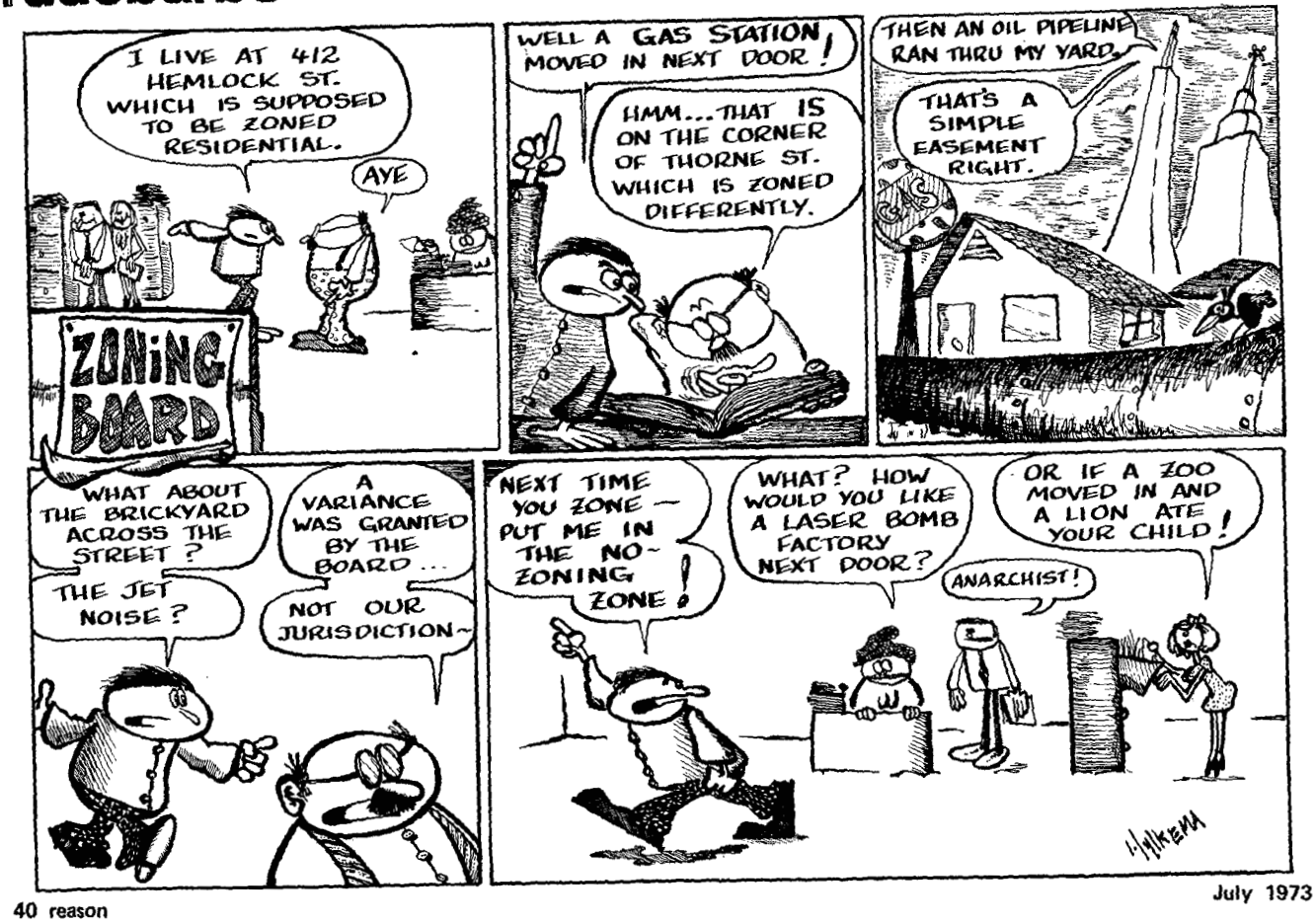
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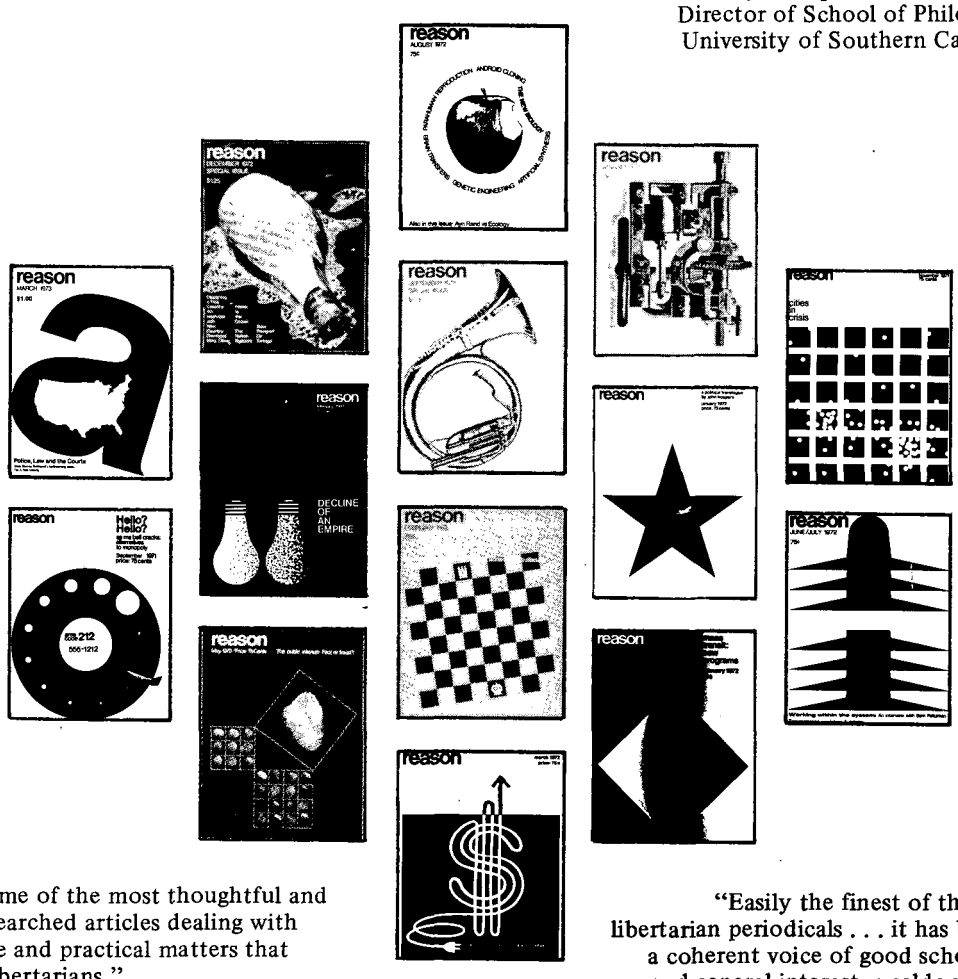

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